TRIBES THAT ENDURED:
FOUR BRAZILIAN CASES

BY

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This work is a study of the process whereby four Brazilian Indian tribes--the Tukuna, the Mundurucu, the Tenetehara, and the Tuxá--achieved ethnic survival. Each of the tribes has a long history of contact with Brazilian society during which it suffered forced labor, seizure of its lands, and depopulation owing to imported Old World diseases. Despite population decline and alterations in their societies and cultures, the tribes remain today distinct ethnic entities integrated into their respective regional economies.

Various factors account for the survival of these groups. Each tribe had a large population at contact that helped it withstand the impact of early depopulation and to rebound once natural immunization was achieved. Although the groups did practice infanticide and abortion, the degree of these methods of population control was not sufficient to deeply affect population size. The territory of none of the groups was immediately sought by colonists, so that villages remained outside of the focii of colonization. Native social structure also promoted ethnic survival. The Tukuna and the Mundurucu, for example, are socially structured according to a complex moiety system. Such a system makes

them exogamous at the moiety level but endogamous at the tribal level. The scheme has worked against miscegenation. Bilateral rules of descent among the Tenetehara and the Tuxá, in constrast, permitted mixed marriages without the loss of ethnicity by the offspring. Ceremonials and continuing use of the native language further function to mark off ethnic boundaries.

In this century, the intervention of governmental agencies charged with protecting the Indian has also aided indigenous survival. In addition to providing limited educational facilities and some medical attention, perhaps the most significant contribution of these agencies has been in preventing outside encroachments on reservation lands. And, maintenance of their lands has been an imperative condition for Indian continuity.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Contact between Brazilian Indians and Luso-Brazilian society has often produced indigenous mal-adjustment, socio-cultural disorganization and extermination of many tribal groups. This general trend has been the outcome of hundreds of years of life under persecution, economic exploitation, and political domination by the non-Indian ruling society. For instance, in 1500, when the Portuguese first arrived in that part of South America which is now Brazil, the area was inhabited by about 2.3 million people (Hemming, 1978). Today as a result of the devastating effects of Luso-Brazilian contact there are less than 220,000 Brazilian Indians (Vidal, 1982). Literally hundreds of tribes have disappeared during the more than four centuries of contact between the Indians, the African slaves, and the Europeans who came to Brazil and their descendants. Throughout this process, the Indians have endured massacres by armed groups, death due to imported diseases, subjugation by slavery, debt servitude, and loss of culture via assimilation into the Brazilian society. But despite these disabilities, many tribes continue to endure (cf. Cultural Survival, 1979; Ribeiro, 1977; Schwade, 1976; Vidal, 1982).

The process of Indian subordination has its roots in the colonial past, been shaped by enslavement, forced missionization, economic expropriation, and lethal effects of diseases brought by the colonists and the modern moving frontiers (Wagley and Harris, 1964; Ribeiro, 1977;

Hemming, 1978). Even so, many tribes have survived and according to Kietzman, "are growing in size, and their indefinite continuation as ethnically distinct units appears a certainty" (1972:1). Many tribes continue not only to increase their population, but also continue to maintain their ethnic identity distinct from Brazilians, and even from each other. Thus, change in native socio-cultural patrimony and socio-cultural arrangements has not meant loss of ethnic identity, nor has acculturation resulted in full assimilation, at least in terms of indigenous collectives (Wagley, 1977). Indian tribes have died out, been killed, suffered extreme disorganization, and have been acculturated to the point of almost complete loss of their aboriginal culture. But, there is not a single record of voluntary and complete assimilation. Even in the extreme situation when the Indians are considered caboclos (Brazilian peasants), due to the loss of most of their cultural patrimony after years of contact and exploitation, their Indianess has persisted and sometimes revived itself.

The question of Brazilian Indian ethnic persistence is closely related to the forms of articulation between the tribal groups and different segments of the colonial and national societies. This articulation has been largely marked by asymmetrical interethnic relations and a real disinterest by the larger society to assimilate the tribal groups. The articulation of Brazilian tribal groups and dominant society can be better understood through the analysis of economic, political, and ideological forces that have historically shaped and structured such ethnic relations. These three closely related forces comprise (a) the economic concerns which have pervaded both colonial policies and contemporary governmental programs of national development and territorial

integration; (b) the political power exercised by the dominant society by force or special legislation, which has guaranteed control over the Indians; and (c) the ideology of superiority--not only materially but morally and intellectually as well--that has been developed by images of ethnic stereotypes which have often constituted the basis for explaining and justifying a supposed right of domination by colonial and national societies. In this dissertation I will consider these dimensions separately only for the sake of clarity. In fact, they are complementary or overlapping and, as such, must be seen in combination as they interact in any real situation.

In addition, one must take into account the fact that the larger society, through its agents--moving frontiers, missionaries, governmental employees, etc.--has been multi-faceted and contradictory. In its relation with the Indian groups it cannot be seen as a single unit. For instance, although the moving frontiers have presented certain uniformities in their development, such as economic expropriation of indigenous lands and/or labor, they are structurally different. Thus, a frontier based on cattle ranching differs from a frontier based on plantation agriculture, and these differ from a frontier of small peasant farmers or a mining frontier.

Darcy Ribeiro, a Brazilian anthropologist, has proposed three types of frontiers which have shaped the relationship between the Indians and the whites in Brazil. Ribeiro writes that these frontiers may be classified as extractive, pastoral, and agricultural according to their economic designs. The structure and effects of each upon the indigenous populations are depicted by Ribeiro in the following statement:

> The extractive economy mobilizes individuals detached from their communities of origin and consequently unfettered by the traditional forms of social control . . . [they] are organized in mobile bands. . . . In face-to-face encounters with indigenous groups, these men tend to expel the Indians from their lands by force [or] try to place the Indians in their service . . . [they] generally collide with the Indians at widely separated locations [and so] it is possible . . . for a warring tribe to continue in conflict [with them] for many years . . . the frontier of pastoral economy as formed by . . . populations composed of family groups who advance across unexplored areas in search of new pasture for their herds. . . . Their actions toward the Indians are motivated by necessities of clearing the fields of their human inhabitants to turn [them] over to cattle . . . the interaction . . . frequently assumes forms of bloody conflict and rarely gives way to direct living together, or to inter-marriage and miscegenation . . . agricultural frontiers generally involve both large human masses and much more powerful equipment . . . [they] see the Indian as merely an obstacle to their expansion, and they resort to conflict to take possession of the lands . . . [and] transforming landscape, [they] create a new ecological condition in which the adaptive tribal system becomes inoperative . . . [and] within a few years the Indians find themselves obligated to adopt new forms of eking out subsistence . . . and surrounded by a relatively dense population to whose ways of life they must accommodate if they are to survive. (Ribeiro, 1967:94-96; my stress)

Although the percentage of extinct Indian groups in relation to each type of frontier presented by Ribeiro (1967, 1977) suggests that the highest degree of extinction is related to agricultural frontiers--60% in the case of encounter between Indians and agriculturalists, as compared to 45.7% between Indians and extractors, and 30.2% between Indians and pastoralists--he considers the fundamental determinant of the survival for the indigenous societies to be the dynamics of the national society. This means that the inexorable advance into, and consolidation of unexplored regions where isolated Indian groups still survive will, in time, be the crucial determinant of tribal depopulation, sociocultural disintegration or extinction.

Attention should be called to the fact that such frontiers have generally not resulted from planned efforts of colonization. Actually, they have often risen from fortuitous events like the gold rush in Minas Gerais in the eighteenth century, or the rubber boom in the Amazon region a century and a half later. Also, these frontiers have not had the same temporal duration, nor unleashed the same degree of violence upon the Indians as contemporary ones (Ribeiro, 1967). In fact, the slow expansion of Brazilian society into the backlands, together with poor communication, made it possible for many tribes to survive. The slowly moving frontiers provided time and the right conditions for indigenous demographic recuperation and socio-cultural reorganization or accommodation (Wagley and Harris, 1964; Kietzman, 1972).

However, those tribes which fled inland in the preceding centuries to find refuge are today faced with a more serious menace, namely the present governmental programs of development and colonization in Brazil. Through the promotion of large-scale ranching, lumbering, mining, and colonization projects, the government has promoted rapid and permanent transformations both in the natural environment and in patterns of settlement (cf. Bunker, 1980; Davis, 1977; Moran, 1981; Wagley, 1974). The consequence of this new movement to populate and develop the interior of Brazil is more drastic and lethal to the indigenous societies than the frontiers of the past. This new "boom" is more enduring because it is supported by more efficient technology and bureaucracy than ever before.

The missionaries and agents responsible for indigenous affairs, although considering theirs a civilizing mission, also had distinct aims and thus created a different kind of frontier. Thus, each of the above

diverse actors pursued distinct goals and because of this each one created a unique modality of articulation with the tribal groups. In discussing the problem of articulation, therefore, the opposition between the larger society and the indigenous societies, along with the larger society's internal contradictions, should be taken into consideration if one wishes to understand the process of ethnic interaction and reaction as a whole (cf. Da Matta, 1976).

The process of ethnic interaction, as suggested above, obviously is not unilateral. It involves the encounter of different societies, each one bearing its own economic objectives, social structure, customs, and system of values. Each one constitutes a universe with its own laws and traditions. Because of this many Indian groups did not completely succumb to force nor to the lure of material paraphernalia offered by the dominant society. Instead, they often adapted and re-adapted their culture and society to the new situations and continued to exist as distinct ethnic units. Hence, I will consider the Indians involved in the process of inter-ethnic contract not as amorphous and passive entities, but as ethnic minorities that fought for their survival.

The quest for survival among the Brazilian Indians has involved different strategies which, in general, were born as a consequence of the contradictions in the larger society and were also engendered within the tribal society through structural reorganization and re-adaptation of its economy, social structure, and by reinforcing its system of beliefs. It would seem obvious that for their continuity the Indian groups must have maintained at least certain cultural elements which served as points of reference for their ethnicity. These elements functioned to mark off the ethnic dichotomy between the Indians and the

outsiders and became barriers to full assimilation (Barth, 1969; Spicer, 1971). These "ethnic markers" may be of different kinds, such as language, rituals, or even territory. At the same time, these "ethnic markers" were perceived and used by the ethnic majority both as elements to reinforce the dichotomy "we" and "they" and to justify perpetuation of their domination. Of course, this pervading sense of superiority over the Indians by the dominant society was not conducive to assimilation. If the Indians wanted full participation as members of the larger society, they had to lose their identity, forget their ethnic roots, and do away with any "ethnic markers" that cut them off from the majority.

Considering as a starting point the facts mentioned above, I intend to examine in this study the means whereby some Brazilian tribes have preserved their ethnic identity and reproduced themselves as distinct societies vis-a-vis the encompassing society. For this I will consider (a) the relevant role played by the dominant society which through its own ambiguities has paradoxically destroyed and "protected" the Indians, as well as impeded their full assimilation; and (b) different internal socio-cultural mechanisms, activated during the process of acculturation, whereby the Indians sought to preserve their ethnicity and survival from a contact which has tended to be destructive to their culture and society.

It is not my purpose to develop a "theory of ethnicity," but to show that the recurrence of certain factors and mechanisms--both external and internal to each tribe--has acted in a positive form to enable tribal ethnic continuity. This does not mean that such factors are always in themselves "positive." In certain circumstances and due

to different causes, a policy or an action may have the opposite effect than that which was its aim. For instance, the Indian Post that was created to protect the Indians and to direct them toward assimilation into the larger society has not generally accomplished that task. In fact, due to ambiguous policies, blending authoritarianism and paternalism, it has more often constituted a major factor for reinforcing tribal identity. Thus, we cannot consider such factors and mechanisms in a mechanical way, that is, as if they were isolated and immutable. On contrast, we must see them as resulting from the dynamics of the contact which involves not only contraditions inherent in the organization and design of the larger society, but the socio-cultural peculiarity and reaction of each tribal group involved in the inter-ethnic situation.

The Scope of This Study

Studying the conditions whereby several Brazilian indigenous societies have escaped from ethnic extinction, I will utilize as examples four tribes: the Tukuna, Mundurucu, Tenethehara, and Tuxa. I do not intend to consider them as parameters for all Brazilian tribal groups. They were selected not by any sampling or statistical criteria, but because the historical record for these four tribal groups is relatively full (see below) and because they seem to be cases in which the inter-ethnic process has been going on for a hundred years or more. By selecting only four tribes for intensive study, one should not lose sight of the wider process of Indian-Brazilian relationships. Other tribes have totally disappeared as a result of disease, warfare, and exploitation, and others reduced to only a handful of people.

John Hemming in his excellent book, Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians 1500-1760 (1978), has described the process by which many tribes were exterminated during the Colonial Period. And Darcy Ribeiro lists 87 tribes that disappeared from the face of the earth from 1900 to 1957 (Ribeiro, 1967). Thus, comparison of the process as it occurred among these four tribes with the grimmer picture of Brazilian Indian contact must be held in mind. Furthermore, the stories of these four tribes can not be labeled as "successful" unless success were to be measured only in terms of the fact that they have survived in relatively large numbers.

On the other hand, it is only by focusing on a smaller number of cases that one may see the factors that have allowed ethnic survival. Each tribe is a social and cultural system vis-a-vis one or more segments of Brazilian national society. Each tribe presents considerable variation in its economy, social organization, and world view. In 1500 the Brazilian Indians were divided into literally hundreds of tribal societies. As each came into contact with the Brazilian national society, a distinct inter-ethnic process was set off. Yet, many tribes became extinct while others, including the four studied here, somehow survived as distinct ethnic units into the later twentieth century. What are the factors in their aboriginal cultural, the process of contact, and in the segment of the national society which they encountered that allowed survival?

To seek the answer to these questions, I shall use the method which has conventionally been called "case study". Using this method I will compare and analyze the historical background, the effects of contact, the anti-assimilation reactions, the degree of integration, the forms of

social exploitation, and other aspects of contact for each group selected. To better achieve my objectives I will consider, although somewhat loosely, what Fred Eggan (1954) has called the method of controlled comparison. Thus, instead of selecting tribes which are spacially and culturally widely separated, I will choose tribes presenting certain common features in their fundamental adjustment to the natural milieu and in their historical background. For example, at least three of the groups chosen above have lived in regions of tropical forest, were slash-and-burn agriculturalists, were missionized, had their system of leadership manipulated by the encompassing economy, and were subjected to the national Indian policy. Only one group, the Tuxa, differ somewhat from this pattern common to most of the Amazonian Indian groups. However, since they constitute an extreme case in the process of acculturation and live outside the tropical forest in the arid northeast of Brazil, they will be useful for the purpose of comparison. Yet, the Tuxa share with the other tribes some common points such as long contact with the national society, missionization, participation in the outside economy, and supervision by the Fundacao Nacional do Indio (National Foundation for the Indian) or FUNAI.

More precisely, the criteria for selecting the Tukuna, Mundurucu, Tuxa, and Tenetehara are that these tribes in general have a long contact with the national society and that they share common experiences due to their missionization and integration into the regional economy. Regarding the latter, during the course of their interaction they were submitted to different forms of labor exploitation such as slavery, serfdom, and patron-client relationship effecting their own economic and social organization. Also, at least two tribes--the Tukuna and

Mundurucu--were involved in the collection of native rubber in the early twentieth century, and even earlier both of these groups and the Tenetehara were used to collect other forest products. Thus, they were exposed to the vagaries of a market-oriented economy based on collecting activities. In contrast, the Tuxa were contacted by a pastoral frontier and were always riverine Indians, but maintained their ethnic identity despite over 300 years of contact with the national Brazilian society.

In describing and analyzing each of these tribal groups, I will rely mainly upon published work. It was a necessary criterion in selection of Brazilian tribal groups for this study that the record be as detailed and extensive as possible. Only in the case of the Tuxa will data be used based upon field work by the author and his wife, Elizabeth Cabral Nasser (Nasser, 1975; Cabral Nasser, 1975). These data were collected during a research period of one year. In addition, we have made several shorter visits to the Tuxa village at later dates. Also, the Tuxa were visited by W. D. Hohenthal, Jr., in the 1950's. Although Hohenthal's writings (1960a, 1960b) on them are not extensive, they do afford a comparison at two distinct moments in the Tuxa socio-cultural life.

In the case of the other tribal groups, each has been studied by two or more anthropologists at different periods and historical data from various sources are available. Thus, a comparison can be made at different time levels in the inter-ethnic process. The Tukuna were the subject of a monograph by Curt Nimuendaju in 1952 and an article in 1948 as a result of his field work in the early 1940's. In the 1960's Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira carried out research which resulted in a book and several articles (1964; 1978). A later visit to the Tunkuna's

region in the 1970's had as an outcome a report to FUNAI which was published in 1978. At the same time, João Pacheco de Oliveira Filho, a former student of Cardoso de Oliveira, carried out research among the Tukuna which resulted in a master's thesis (1977). In 1979 he also published an article describing his experiences in the field of applied anthropology among this tribe.

The Tenetehara were the focus of research undertaken by Charles Wagley and Eduardo Calvão in 1942 and 1945. A monograph on Tenetehara culture was published in 1949 (Wagley and Galvão, [1949] 1969) and an earlier article in 1948 (Wagley and Galvão, 1948). Also, Wagley (1951) wrote a seminal article comparing population policies between the Tapirape and Tenetehara which presents an analysis of socio-cultural malleability for population recovery and expansion under disruptive ethnic pressures. Later, Mercio Pereira Gomes (1977), a Brazilian anthropologist, did field work among this tribe resulting in his Ph.D. dissertation.

The Mundurucu, in turn, were the subject of field work of Robert and Yolanda Murphy who have written on different aspects of their society and culture (Murphy, 1956, 1957, 1958, [1960] 1978; Murphy and Murphy, 1974; Murphy and Steward, [1956] 1974). Earlier, Donald Horton published an article (Horton, 1948) on these Indians in the Handbook of South American Indians. More recently Expedito Arnaud, an anthropologist from the Museu Goeldi in Brazil, published an article on the Mundurucu and the Indian Service in which the policy developed by this agency is analyzed in depth (Arnaud, 1974).

These works, which were written in distinct periods of time, provide a wide view of each group since they entail the reality as

perceived by anthropologists employing somewhat different theoretical orientations. Their perception of each tribe and their focus of interest were products of their specific research designs, which were problems of acculturation, inter-ethnic relationship, or pure ethnographic description. Thus, they furnished a great deal of interpretation and complementary information. Also, they permit one to observe the socio-cultural changes and reactions to contact which occurred over time. For instance, while Wagley and Galvão wrote a descriptive account of Tenetehara society as it was in 1942-45, their focus of interest was the process of acculturation. Gomes' study, in contrast, tends to deal with the Tenetehara society in 1975-76 through a dialectical approach within a Marxist tradition, considering the encounter of two distinct social formations bearing different modes of production. According to Gomes, the Tenetehara ethnic survival depends upon their skill in maintaining their original non-capitalist mode of production.

In the case of the Tukuna we also have two distinct approaches. While Nimuendaju dealt with the Tukuna more descriptively, according to classic ethnography, Oliveria sought to describe the dynamics of inter-ethnic relationships, accentuating political and economic factors which permeate and direct the interaction between the Indians and the whites in the upper Solimões River region. He sought to take a more sociological approach. He studied the contact dimension which he called "inter-ethnic friction" in which the contact between tribal groups and segments of the national society were characterized by competition and conflict (Oliveira, 1964). Oliveira Filho (1977), on the other hand, drew particular attention to the political aspects of a Tukuna

reservation in which the early structure and relation of power have been replaced by an intense factionalism.

The Mundurucu acculturation was studied by Murphy following a functionalist approach. However, his "functionalism" is not non-historic; it is not limited to a single dimension since the synchronic perspective is complemented by a dyachronic vision through which acculturation is seen as a process. In two distinct works he seeks to explain the changes that occurred in the Mundurucu religious sytem (1958) and the effects of contact on their economy and social structure (1978). Also, together with Yolanda Murphy, Robert Murphy (1974) analyzed women's place, role, and sexual antagonism among the Mundurucu, stressing another dimension of their society. In addition, there is the above mentioned article by Arnaud (1974) which treats the effects of the official governmental action upon these Indians.

The Tuxa are subjects of two master's theses by Nasser (1975) and Cabral Nasser (1975) in which their present situation is described and their relationship with the outer world analyzed. Emphasis is given to their economic and social organization. Their religion is also examined but not in detail. Both works place a lot of emphasis on description. In addition, in two articles by Hohenthal, already mentioned, the Tuxa are succintly described and compared with other remnent tribal groups of Northeast Brazil.

In summary, these works, although they employ different approaches, permit both a synchronic and diachronic perception of the process of interaction between the national and indigenous societies. If some of them place stronger emphasis on the ethnographic aspects, describing more vividly the tribal inner structure, the others provide a more

inclusive analysis, considering the dynamics of the encounter of distinct societies. Therefore, they often are complementary. After all to understand the effects and mechanisms of the interaction between the Indians and the white, one needs a basic knowledge of the tribal culture and society available only in ethnographic descriptions.

Concepts of Ethnic Groups and Terminology

It seems necessary at this point to discuss some of the concepts and terms employed in this study. Above all, what is an "ethnic group" for the surviving Brazilian tribal groups are treated herein by this term. With some differences the definition provided by Wagley and Harris will be applied. Although they use the term "minority groups," they make it clear that ethnic groups are "essentially the same type of depressed social groups" (Wagley and Harris, 1964:4n).[1] Briefly, Wagley and Harris established five characteristics of ethnic groups. First, they are subordinate segments of complex state societies. Brazil tribal groups which were once autochthonous societies became ethnic groups, whether or not they were aware of it, when they came under the domination of the Portuguese empire or the Brazilian state. Second, ethnic groups are set off from the dominant segments of the larger society by "special physical and cultural traits." Although Brazilian Indians do not differ in racial appearance from large numbers of Brazilians, many tribal groups have distinctive haircuts, body mutilations such as holes in the lower lip for plugs, decorate their bodies with dyes, and at

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[1] I have used the term "ethnic group" in this study since that term is more generally used today in social anthropology and in sociology; thus, where Wagley and Harris use "minority groups," I shall use "ethnic group."

least in the early stages of contact with Brazilians, wear little or no clothes. These "physical traits" are held in low esteem by surrounding Brazilians. Furthermore, most tribal groups have kept their native language and each tribal group has to some extent perserved cultural determined behavior and ideology which contrasts with that of the Brazilian majority. Third, ethnic groups are self-conscious units bound together by the special traits which their members share and by the special disabilities which those bring. Tribal solidarity continues among Brazilian Indians after incorporation as ethnic groups within the Brazilian state, but more will be said below regarding this characteristic.

Fourth, according to Wagley and Harris, membership in ethnic groups "is transmitted by a rule of descent which is capable of affiliating succeeding generations even in the absence of readily apparent special cultural or physical traits" (1964:10). This rule of descent may be a rule of the ethnic group itself; thus, some Brazilian tribes are matrilineal recognizing only the children of Indian mothers as tribal members. Or a rule of descent may be imposed by the dominant society which considers an Indian tribal member to be anyone whose father or mother was an Indian. Finally, ethnic groups by choice or necessity are endogamous. Although marriages, or at least mating, ought to always take place with individuals outside the ethnic group, unless the rule of endogamy was generally respected, the ethnic group in question would soon disappear. Brazilian Indians tribal groups are endogamous, although marriages outside the tribe have been common in the past and have been one cause for the assimilation of many Indian individuals into the national population.

This broad set of characteristics provided by Wagley and Harris makes it clear that the surviving Brazilian tribes are ethnic, or in their terms, minority groups. But, other writers have extended or refined this definition of ethnic groups. Fredrick Barth, for example, describes ethnic groups "as categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves and thus, have the characteristic of organizing interaction between people" (1969:10).[X] Barth seems to say that identification with an ethnic group may be based on a shared common culture and cultural differences with other groups in the larger society; but, in fact, it is those particular cultural features which the members of an ethnic group considers significant which provide the basis for identification. As he states, "some cultural features are used by the actors as signals and emblems of differences, others are ignored, and in some relationships radical differences are played down and ignored" (Barth, 1969:14). The cultural features which are selected to establish identity and distinctiveness of an ethnic group may be "overt signals or signs" such as dress, language, or general life style (similar to the "special traits" of Wagley and Harris). They also may be less obvious "basic value orientations" such as patterns of judgment and standards of morality. These perceived differences between groups become symbolic devices which form boundaries between groups. Thus, the blue circle under each eye which the Caraja Indians of central Brazil sport identifies them as tribal members and sets them off from rural Brazilians. And, the Fulnio Indians of northeastern Brazil have seized upon their annual urikuri ceremony as a symbol of tribal membership and identity. Members of the Fulnio tribe, many of whom live scattered in various northeastern communities, return each year to the tribal reservation to

attend these ceremonies. It is a tribal rule that only those whose mother or father was a Fulnio may attend; spouses of Fulnio are forbidden yet their children are welcome (Pinto, 1956).

Edward Spicer, whose work deals directly with ethnic group survival and specifically the North American Indians, also emphasizes symbols in ethnic group maintainance (Spicer, 1971). Such factors as a belief in racial purity, attachment to a home land, language, and a shared culture can be important in ethnic group persistence but in themselves they are not sufficient. For him, more vital is the maintainance of a sense of commod identity created by the manipulation of a set of symbols. In Spicer's words:

> ...we find in every case of an enduring people common understanding concerning the meaning of a set of symbols. It is awareness of, or common understanding concerning, these meanings of which a sense of common identity depends. The kind of symbols involved are those which have associations with a unique experience of a people through their history.... The experiences are associated with specific places, with specific persons, with triumphs and defeats, with sufferings, with persecutions and betrayals.... Thus, the persistence of a people rests on a set of meanings about actual events of history, as uniquely experienced by the people and stored, as it were, in a stock of symbols. (1980:347)

For Spicer it is not the kinds of symbols that are important but the significance which is given to them by the members of an ethnic group in opposition to outsiders. For instance, in the case of a distinctive language it is not that the language necessarily provides an easy means of communication but the fact it is used as a means "for maintaining not only internal solidarity but boundaries between themselves [the enduring ethnic group] and others as well" (Spicer, 1971:799).

Both Fredrick Barth and Edward Spicer emphasized more than Wagley and Harris the importance of symbols in creating boundaries between ethnic groups and others of the dominant society. Such symbols are used to resist incorporation or assimilation into the larger society. This emphasis upon symbols will be useful in analyzing the phenomena of persistence of Brazilian tribes. However, it should also be remembered that such symbols often work in reverse. The dominant sectors of the society may seize upon differences ranging from such obvious elements as language to minute differences in custom as symbols to indicate inferiority of an ethnic group and to prevent their incorporation.

Finally, Darcy Ribeiro, although not concerned with ethnic groups in general, provides a useful paradigm for studying the situation of the Indian in Brazil. Ribeiro seeks to analyze the contact between Indians and non-Indians "as the process through which tribal populations that face national societies fulfill the necessary requirements to their persistence as ethnic entities, according to successful alteration in their biological substratum, their culture, and their forms of relationship with the larger society" (1977:13). In his model, he considers four levels of integration which can be measured according to the degree of interaction and dependence of the Indian tribes in relation to the national society. These levels, or degree of contract, are isolated, intermittent, permanent, and integrated. The first and last occupy the the poles of the axis, while the intermittent and permanent represent intermediate levels in the gradient. However, these levels of integration do not represent an immutable sequence; a given Indian tribe, due to circumstances of the contact situation, may skip the intermediate levels moving directly from isolated to integrated, or may simply

be exterminated. It is indispensable to explain each of them in order to better understand the process.

Isolated tribes are those with no or rare contact with the national society. They retain their land and their socio-cultural autonomy and economic self-sufficiency. In intermittent contact are those tribes who have entered into sporadic interaction, retain some cultural autonomy, gain their subsistence through aboriginal means, but already have acquired needs which can only be satisfied by trading with the national population; in permanent those tribes who maintain direct and steady interaction with non-Indians, have lost their socio-cultural autonomy, and are dependent upon outsiders; and integrated, those groups who have survived the traumas caused by the contact. Many of them have forgotten their language, lost their native lands, or are living in small portions of them (some of which have been transformed into reservations), but still retain their ethnic identity. They are virtually indistinguishable from and involved in the regional culture, moral codes, and money economy to which they are engaged as wage laborers or small productors.

However, Ribeiro argues that this last stage does not correspond to the complete fusion of indigenous groups into the national society (i.e., assimilation). Indeed, it is a form of accommodation binding specific ethnic identification with increasing participation in the regional economy and other spheres of institutionalized behavior of the larger society. Sometimes parcels of their population may be absorbed by the lowest levels of the larger society, but at least in terms of entire communities, they have not lost their ethnic identity nor are

accepted as peers by non-Indian population even when they share the same level of pauperism and exploitation.

In his conclusion, Darcy Ribeiro seems to agree with both Fredrick Barth and Edward Spicer when he writes:

> Also, this means that ethnic identities are much more resistent than has generally been suspected, because they demand only minimal conditions to perpetuate themselves; and because they survive the total transformation of their cultural and racial patrimony. Still, it means that language, the customs, the beliefs are attributes external to the ethnicity, susceptible to deep alterations, without suffering collapse or mutation. It means, finally, that ethnic groups are relational categories among human groups, made up more of reciprocal representations and moral loyalties than of any cultural or racial especifications. (1977:446; translation my own)

In Darcy Ribeiro's terms the Indian tribal groups presented in this study represent the last stages of contact with Brazilian national society. The Tenetehara, the Tukuna, and the Mundurucu are clearly in permanent contact while the Tuxa represent a tribe in an integrated relationship with Brazilian society. The first three, those in permanent contact, have retained their native languages and a large part of their cultural heritage. The Tuxa speak Portuguese and have adopted a way of life little different from the surrounding rural Brazilians. Yet, they retain their identity as Tuxa--as Indians--distinct from the Brazilians.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the term "integration" which is so frequently used in reference to contact between Indians and non-Indians in Brazil will be used in this study as does Darcy Ribeiro--as a stage of interaction between first contact with Brazilian society and the final stage which would theoretically be "assimilation." But, this final stage of assimilation has seldom, if ever, taken place.

Tribes have become extinct through depopulation resulting from disease or armed violance. Individual members of a tribe have left their groups to become assimilated. But there is no record of a tribal society evolving as a society from an "integrated" to final assimilation.

As Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira says, assimilation presupposes "not only the acceptance of the Indian by the national society as if he were not an Indian, free of all stigma, but it also requires of the native himself the sacrifice of his aboriginal ethnic identity and consciousness of his origins..." (quoted in Keitzman, 1972:14). Lacking these conditions assimilation does not take place and this seems to be the general rule permeating the relationship between Indians and whites in Brazil.

CHAPTER II
INDIANS AND WHITES IN BRAZIL: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

In this chapter I will briefly examine the history of contact between Indians and whites in Brazil. In doing so, I will divide the history into three consecutive periods. Each period comprises determined forms of inter-ethnic relationships and is marked by different events which have changed the non-Indian society's form of official control over the Indians. Thus, the periods do not coincide with the changes of political regimes which occurred in Brazil. However, I will call two of them, rather arbitrarily, the Colonial Period and the Republican Period. The period following in between these two I will call the Late Colonial Period and Empire.

The Colonial Period began with the establishment of the dyewood trade in 1501. It lasted until 1759, a period just before the Jesuits were expelled from Brazil; it should be noted that the traditional date used by historians for the end of the Colonial Period corresponds to the declaration of Brazilian independence in 1822. Just before the expulsion of the Jesuits, the control over indigenous populations was taken from the missionaries and given to the secular authorities. Hemming (1978) also uses these dates to delineate the Colonial Period.

The second period, the Late Colonial Period, began in 1759 and lasted until 1889. It ended with the establishment of the first Republic. The last period, the Republican, may be divided into two phases: before and after the creation of the Brazilian Indian Service.

The first phase (1889-1910) was marked by a new advance of Brazilian frontiers into indigenous territory. The subsequent phase (1910 to the present) is characterized by the establishment of the Indian Service with a specific, although often ambiguous Indian policy.

The Colonial Period (1501-1759)

Since the arrival of first the Portuguese, followed by the French, and later the Dutch, the Brazilian tribal groups have felt the bitter taste of an unequal and destructive inter-ethnic contact. The first contacts between Indians and Europeans took place on the coast and later spread to the interior. Territorial conquest by Europeans, however, did not mean a massive and regular advance toward the backlands. At the beginning it was confined to the coastal fringe, in accordance with the Portuguese Crown's economic concerns. Its concerns were directed initially toward the brazilwood trade and later toward sugar cane cultivation (Furtado, 1963). The colonists concentrated on these crops, especially sugar, to make their fortunes since there were no silver or gold mines to exploit as in other South American countries (Boxer, 1969).

During the first three decades of the sixteenth century the Indians were involved in the brazilwood trade in relatively peaceful relationships with the colonists. Through coastal factories the colonists bartered tools, textiles, and other objects with the Indians for brazilwood and food supplies. In this economic arrangement the natives cut, prepared, and delivered the brazilwood logs to the trading posts. Thus, the Portuguese and the French received not only the profitable dyewood, but also exploited the Indian labor in exchange for Western manufactured

goods (Marchant, 1942). However, neither forced labor nor land encroachment were closely associated with this type of exploitation. Although Marchant (1942) has recorded some cases of indigenous enslavement in the early Colonial Period, in general "the European sought merely to trade with the Indian tribes for food and Brazilwood" (Wagley and Harris, 1964:25).

In fact, the early settlers, because of their ignorance of the new milieu and their small numbers, were temporarily compelled to look for help and trade with Indians (Marchant, 1942). However, as the balance of power shifted in their favor the relationship headed toward one of the purely socio-economic exploitation. Thus, by the second half of the sixteenth century the relationship between the settlers and Indians began to change profoundly from one of barter and military alliance to one of master and slave (Wagley and Harris, 1964:25; Marchant, 1942). Two reasons seem to have led to this change: (a) the Crown's need to impose an effective control on the new colony which was openly threatened by the French; and (b) the introduction of sugar cane and the consequent need for more land and a larger labor force which was impossible to recruit from the small number of colonists (Hemming, 1978).

In order to accomplish the first aim the Crown actually started the process of colonization. Before this decision Brazil had represented only another trade area to the Portuguese Crown. To start the process of colonization Portugal sought to establish a permanent Luso population that was able to defend Brazilian territory from French seizure and to generate wealth for the Crown. In order to reach these goals the Crown established a system of land grants or captaincies. Fifteen captaincies

were created from Maranhao to Santa Catarina, distributed among 12 donees who had to colonize them at their own expense. The captaincies were exclusive property of the donees and could be transmitted only by inheritance. The system of captaincy combined elements of feudalism and capitalism. Regarding this, Gunder Frank asserts that

> The grants of land... made by the King to some of his subjects so that they could colonize the New World appear feudal and do indeed have some feudal background. Their essence, however, was not feudal, but capitalist. They were conceived and functioned as mechanisms in the expansion of the mercantile capitalist system. They were accepted by their recipients with commercial profits in view... (1969:151-152)

The feudal character is demonstrated by the fact that each donee received the captaincy as a fief from the King to whom he owed loyalty. Otherwise, according to Poppino, the donee had "virtually supreme political, economic, judicial, and military power in the captaincy," which meant he could "pacify, Christianize, and rule the native population" (1968:51). Thus, Indian political autonomy was lost since by law the Indians were to be ruled by the donees and as subjects could also be enslaved. In fact, with the creation of the captaincy each donee was authorized by the King to capture and sell a specific number of Indians per year.

Economically, the Portuguese Crown reserved for itself the dyewood monopoly and the right to collect certain taxes. This meant that the soil was the only resource left to be exploited by the donees. Therefore, agriculture became their main means of revenue. To exploit their lands the donees not only exploited indigenous labor, but also entered into different kinds of labor arrangements with free laborers. This was a common practice among all sesmeiros (individuals who were granted land by the Crown) in order to commercially exploit their lands.

This practice has survived in Brazil up to the present. In reference to the formation of a Brazilian peasantry, Forman argues that "alongside the Brazilian plantation system there developed early on a peasant sector comprised of small land owners, tenant farmers, and sharecroppers, who served both as commodity producers and a labor force within that system, as well as suppliers of foodcrops to it" (1975:20). In this manner the export-oriented agricultural production was complemented by cultivation of foodcrops involving the effort of many people and the gradual occupation of the land. As a consequence, not only was the Indian's labor expropriated, but their lands as well in order to face the gradual economic expansion.

It is true that since the Indians produced agricultural items to trade with the colonists, were not hostile, and their lands were not needed for the sugar cane cultivation, they could maintain their rocas (gardens). However, it did not mean they were completely safe from land encroachment. This is shown by a law issued in 1680 by the Crown ordaining the indigenous rights of the Indians over their lands. However, history has shown that although the Indians enjoyed certain legal guarantees over their territory, in theory, in practice these guarantees were seldom protected. It seems that the only period throughout the history of contact in which Indian territory was not threatened coincided with the three first decades after the arrival of the European in Brazil.

As was said earlier, the colonization of Brazil by the Portuguese was subordinate to the directives of the Portuguese Crown whose interest was primarily to administer and exploit the new found resources of a vast and varied colony. The first region to be populated to any large

extent was the northeast where the cultivation of sugar cane set the foundation for the colonial economy. This export-oriented economy, based on a cash-crop, constituted a pattern which dominated the Brazilian economy for centuries. Bahia and Pernambuco were the first states in which sugar cane was cultivated, the plants being imported from the Azores in the middle of the sixteenth century by the Portuguese. Later, sugar production spread to other states because the world-wide demand brought on the need to increase production (Furtado, 1963). The expansion of sugar cane cultivation demanded a large increase in the labor force and the use of new lands which were acquired at the expense of land for subsistence agriculture and cattle raising. The cattle were pushed to the backlands, opening new fronts of contact with isolated tribal groups. While this occurred, the Indian tribes settled near the colonial settlements were forced to work on the sugar cane plantations and mills. Most of their lands were expropriated on behalf of sugar cane cultivation.

To obtain Indian labor, Hemming asserts that the colonist, "used to buy slaves with trade goods from tribes that had captured prisoners and would otherwise have eaten them (1978:38). This author adds that,

> The supply of captive prisoners was quite inadequate for the voracious demands of the new sugar industry. The Portuguese, therefore, incited Indians to attack their enemies in order to obtain more captives. Even this was not enough. The next step was, therefore, direct, forcible enslavement, unadorned by any pretence of rescue from worse fate. (Hemming, 1978: 39)

Outright enslavement was carried out through several means and justified by different excuses. The main means to enslave Indians was by war parties called entradas, when officially organized by the colonial administration, and bandeiras, when organized by private

individuals. The former were more common in the Amazonian region, the latter moved along the country in search of gems and enslaving Indians for sale to the landlords. They also rendered services, on payment, to defend the landlords from hostile tribes. The bandeiras originated in São Paulo, then the captaincy of São Vicente. Justification for enslavement of Indians included, among others, the attempt to stop cannibalism and the attempt to pacify or destroy those tribal groups who attacked any unit of colonial production such as plantations or sugar mills. Any Indians captured during these retaliation wars, called "just wars" (guerras justas), could be "legitimately" considered a slave, regardless if they were defending themselves against land encroachments by the advancing frontier.

In time, the encounter with these heterogenous social formations brought on a systematic disorganization of the indigenous culture and society. For example, the practice of ritual cannibalism among the Tupinambá performed an important role in their tribal ethos. Its suppression meant tribal socio-religious disorganization. Likewise, the war prisioners, the main actors in the ritual, gradually lost their symbolic meaning since the Portuguese transformed them into a commodity by buying them as slaves. Even the very capture of prisoners by the Indians became a paradox. For example, sometimes Indians were encouraged to take prisoners from other tribes even though this very act often constituted justification for their own enslavement. Another point of cultural conflict was the economy. All indigenous economic activity was performed either for subsistence or for discharge of social or ritual obligation. The production and accumulation of surplus was not a priority. Even when the Indians received tools or other goods as

payment for lumbering for the Portuguese and French, they did not accumulate goods in the western economic sense. They did not seek to maximize profits, although the amount of goods could enhance prestige within the tribal sphere. For example, as soon as the Indians had acquired a certain amount of manufactured items they often stopped working and trading with the colonist (Hemming, 1978; Marchant, 1942). This behavior created problems for the colonial authorities since they could not afford to dispense with native manpower which, at this time, comprised the only labor source in the country.

The passage from barter to slavery brought as an outcome the flight of many tribes to the interior to escape European persecution and enslavement. Those tribes which could not flee either were physically annihilated or brought into slavery. Even the fate of the tribes which fled to the backlands was not significantly different. Many were captured and brought back as slaves to work on plantations near the coast (Wagley and Harris, 1964). Moreover, persecution was not limited to enslavement alone since the Dutch, French, and Portuguese that penetrated into the interior seeking Indian slaves often destroyed the small Indian villages and massacred whole groups in the process (Wagley, 1977: 273). Thus, the indigenous people were not only facing the possibility of enslavement, but also of genocide. Their only alternative was to retreat toward the zones out of reach of the colonizing frontier. The of this displacement is shown in the reports by the French when they founded their colony in Maranhão in 1612. In Maranhão the French encountered the Tupinambá who were forced to migrate from Pernambuco (about 1,500 kilometers to the southeast) due to persecution in the late sixteenth century (Gomes, 1977).

The process of political domination by the colonist over the Indian was not an easy one. This confrontation between the stateless Indian societies and the highly hierarchical European society created certain structural contradictions. As has been stressed by many authors, Brazilian tribal groups had neither socio-cultural uniformity nor a highly developed political organization (cf. Hemming, 1978; Mellati, 1980; Marchant, 1942; Wagley, 1977). An example is the Tupinambá who were settled along the seaboard at the time of European arrival. They were split in numerous subgroups which lived in a constant state of war with each other. These wars, however, were not caused by economic concerns or territorial expansion, but were provoked by cultural imperatives such as capture of prisoners for ritual cannibalism. Moreover, each Tupinamba subgroup constituted an autonomous socio-political unit, each with weak leadership. According to Wagley and Harris, "Only rarely did a chieftain exercise power over more than one village; only their shamans or pays, as their religious leaders were called, demanded respect beyond the immediate village" (1964:22). This political weakness which facilitated the task of subduing each individual group also hindered the complete conquest of all tribes. This was because the lack of a centralized power meant that each tribe had to be subdued separately. This was true in regard to almost all of the lowland tribes.

The European colonist soon discovered that Indians without a state organization were difficult to subjugate. Each village had to be pacified either by persuasion or force. It was not possible to conquer a large political unit or make a treaty as was possible in Peru or Mexico. This feature, in fact, constituted the fundamental difference

between the conquest of indigenous societies in the highlands as compared to those in the lowlands. Because of their centralized political organization, the former were easier to conquer and dominate by the Spanish, while the latter were overcome only with extreme difficulty. With the Incas and the Aztecs, for example, the Spanish could simply kill or replace their rulers and control the rest of the people. This was possible since the people were long accustomed to political control from above (Wolf and Hansen, 1972). On the other hand, the stateless societies required a great deal of time and human energy to be conquered. Wagley sums up this aspect:

> In the lowlands of Amazonia [also true of other groups settled all over the lowlands] . . . each chieftaniship, each village or band, had to be conquered or destroyed. Even when the "treaties of peace" were made with the local caciques, or chieftains, whose societies lacked political unity. Thus, wars broke out again and again with the same tribes, and tribes that had been conquered once had to be conquered again. Often the wars ended only with complete extermination of the aboriginal group. (1977:274).

Thus, indigenous reaction to the invaders alternated from resistance and withdrawal to alliance. However, although these alternatives delayed the day of reckoning, it was only a question of time before the Europeans dominated all of the coastal fringe.

Although the Portuguese colonist generally clung closely to the coastline "like crabs," as it was expressed by the first native-born historian in Brazil, Frei Vincente Salvador, during the Colonial Period some frontiers started to move toward the interior. In addition to the bandeiras, which by themselves did not constitute an expanding frontier, there were the cattle herders moving westward to look for pasture lands as early as the second half of the sixteenth century. Thus, the sugar mill's appetite for labor and land was not the only force driving the

Indians into the backlands since the cattle ranchers did this as well. This was due to the expansion of sugar cane cultivation which led to the occupation of new lands and, thereby, the loss of space for cattle raising. As Furtado asserts:

> With the expansion of the sugar economy the need for draft animals tended to grow disproportionately, in so much as the devastation of the forests along the seaboard made it necessary to haul firewood for ever-greater-distances. Furthermore, the impracticability of cattle breeding along the seaboard--that is, on the sugar-producing states themselves--soon became apparent. Quarrels between neighbors as a result of cattle trespassing must have been serious, because the Portuguese government eventually prohibited cattle breeding in the sugar-cane areas. (1963:62)

This prohibition meant removal of cattle from the coastal region which was put into canefields. Thus, moving inland from Bahia and Pernambuco through the São Francisco Valley, herds of cattle extended as far as Piaui, almost into the Amazonian region.

Such an advance invoked a great deal of contact between cattle raisers and the many tribes settled along their routes. The contact between them was not essentially different from that on the coast. Hemming writes that this entailed and, "initial welcome; awe at the stranger's technology, military success and religious conviction; gradual realization that the settlers' motives were land and labor; armed resistance rather than submission" (1978:346). But this resistance was in vain since defeats were followed by accommodation and extermination or loss of tribal independence. As stressed by Ribeiro (1967), once cattle entered into an area they displaced human beings. Thus, the so-called Tapuias, a generic name given to the non-speaking Tupi tribes, were forced to surrender their villages and territories to provide grazing land for the herds. Although native opposition to the

cattle invasion was often fierce, it was not sufficient to impede the destruction of many tribes settled in the region invaded by the cattle (cf. Hemming, 1978, chapter 16).

Under the impact of this frontier situation, many Indians were put into peonage and their tribal economic organization was broken. Also, miscegenation between Indians and cattle herders occurred giving rise to a population of mamelucos--children of European men and Indian women. This mestizo population was readily absorbed by the backland society, losing its ethnic reference and becoming small producers of foodstuffs or vaqueiros, the Brazilian cowboy. However, this process was probably never complete. For instance, many of the remnant tribal groups of northeast Brazil which were first contacted by cattle raisers did not lose their ethnic peculiarities nor did their economy come to be based on cattle raising--at least not as cattle herders, even though some individuals had been involved in pastoral activity (cf. Antonil, 1976; Martin de Nantes, 1979). Also, speaking of the Kraho, a Ge speaking tribe of Maranhão, Melatti (1967) states that due to the structure of the pastoral frontier with which the Indians came into contact, not all of them were completely absorbed into the indigenous labor force. This occurred because the cattle raisers did not need many vaqueiros to take care of the herds. They needed only pasture for cattle. Thus, there remained only two options for the cattle raisers: either to annihilate the Indians or to drive them away from the pastures.

As stated above, control over the Indians was mainly accomplished through military rule and law enforcement issued by the ruling society. However, these were not the only means used by the colonial society to rule the Indians. A rapid reduction in population caused mainly by

imported diseases and to a lesser extent by inter-tribal wars, aided in the subordination of the Indian (Wagley and Harris, 1964; Ribeiro, 1977; Kietzman, 1972).

As the Indians had no natural immunity against Old World diseases, these diseases constituted the most lethal by-product of inter-ethnic contact. Diseases such as smallpox, measles, and even the common cold were responsible for killing many thousands of Indians. Hemming (1978) informs us that an outbreak of smallpox epidemic in Bahia in the early 1560's eliminated two thirds of the native population. Also, Ribeiro (1977) has shown the devastating effects of different diseases on Brazilian tribal societies in this century. These diseases were spread among the Indians both naturally and through deliberate infection by whites. The latter constituted a common weapon used to destroy several tribes who intended to resist the colonists' advance and exploitation. While tribes were decimated by this means. As a result of depopulation many tribes had their chances of socio-cultural reproduction seriously or irreparably disturbed, making it difficult for new adjustments in tribal values, customs, and institutions. Often the problem of depopulation was aggravated by rigid tribal customs. Wagley (1977) shows how the marriage rules among the Kaingang of São Paulo and the practice of infanticide among the Tapirapé was pushing these two tribes toward extinction. In both cases survival was possible due to external influences--in the first case due to the actions of a governmental agent; in the latter the little Sisters of Jesus (cf. Baldus, 1970; Oliveira, 1959; Wagley, 1977).

It was common practice among the colonists to stimulate inter-tribal warfare as well as to involve the Indians in their own

internecine struggles. They also used Indian allies in slave raids against other indigenous groups. The consequence of these behaviors, which occurred throughout the country, was to increase indigenous hostilities and to break down innumerable tribes. For instance, at the time of the Amazonian conquest many tribes allied to the Portuguese already had prisoners to deliver to the Europeans as slaves when necessary. Thus, the prisoners lost their ritual value and became a commodity to be traded with the colonists (Albuquerque, 1981). These alliances also served another goal which was to impede any collective resistance from forming among the different tribes. Thus, the principle of divide and conquer was applied with success by the colonists.

Rarely could the Indians overcome their inter-tribal disputes to resist the invaders. From the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries only two collective reactions were recorded, one by the Tamoio in the south and another by the Kariri in the northeast (Albuquerque, 1981; Hemming, 1978). However, the former failed due to the Jesuits' mediation, while the latter ended after 20 years of fierce indigenous resistance. More commondly, each tribe was pitted against another regardless of their cultural and linguistic affinities. Tribes like the Tabajara and the Potiguara, both Tupi speaking, fought against each other in the same war between the Portuguese and the Dutch. As a result, the tribes involved in these conflicts were always damaged, victorious or not, since they were only used by the colonists as a source of manpower to be exploited on behalf of the colonial forces.

Missionization of Indians was aimed at incorporating the native population into Christianity, and consequently, into the national society. It always operated negatively, however, with respect to

socio-cultural tribal integrity. Many missionary orders, chiefly the Jesuits, settled mission villages or worked in the Indians' own village to Christianize, teach, and protect the resident Indians from slave raids. The Indians were attracted both peacefully and forcibly to live in the mission villages. This was done either by contact and persuasion by the missionaries to install a mission among a given tribe, or by the so-called descimentos through which the tribes were led, by persuasion or coercion, to live in the mission villages or near colonial settlements to be Christianized. Also, in these mission villages the Indians often constituted a reserve labor force ready to be recruited by the colonists.

Hemming (1978) states that the Jesuits indirectly aided depopulation by settling Indians in missions near European settlements where they could catch alien diseases more easily. Also, the missionaries lumped people of different socio-cultural backgrounds who spoke distinct languages into the same mission. To overcome the problem of communication, the missionaries adopted the Tupi language as the lingua geral or lingua franca. This language, "reduced to an European script," was taught to mission Indians, and later became the most important means of oral communication in a vast part of the colony (Wagley and Harris, 1964). Moreover, a foreign culture with new customs was imposed on the Indians by the Jesuits was not precisely the culture of the wider European or Brazilian society. As stated by Wagley and Harris,

> . . . rather did they attempt to impose what might be called a "Jesuit culture," distinct from the culture that was taking form in the rest of the colony. It was a Utopian and well-planned society and culture, similar to that which the Jesuits maintained in Paraguay for a time. (1964:28)

This involved the teaching of new occupations and new work habits, prohibition of preferential indigenous forms of marriage, and replacement of native spiritual customs and rituals with Catholic dogma and ritual (Wagley and Harris; 1964; Hemming, 1978; Ribeiro, 1977). The main recipients of this directed process of acculturation were the native children. They were often separated from their families in order to better learn the religious teaching and to help in later tribal Christianization (Azevedo, 1976).

It is true that in some cases during the history of Indian-Brazilian relations missionary action prevented complete extinction of a given tribe, or at least postponed it. For instance, in the sixteenth century the Tuxa were saved from the rage of the cattle rancher thanks to the French Capuchin and other religious groups (Nasser, 1975). And, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Jesuits protected the Tenetehara from encroachers and from slavery. But in the majority of cases, religious intervention as a policy for protecting indigenous population, mainly in the Jesuit missions, resulted in the familiar disintegration and tribal disruption (Ribeiro, 1977; Azevedo, 1976). Being confined within the missions meant loss of cultural integrity and political autonomy since the Indians were both exposed to direct missionary cultural pressure and were placed in asymmetrical relationships with the priests. Also, the Indians' socio-economic relationship with the missionaries was that of serf and master (cf. Furtado, 1963). In this regime of serfdom the Indians had to produce for the mission and for themselves, as well as to render other services such as building and repairing the chapel or other buildings in the mission. Eventually, they could also be recruited to work for the settlers. But, in general

the missionaries sought to avoid the use of Indian labor for external work.

In addition to being used as a labor force by both the missions and the colonists, the missionized Indians were forbidden to practice many of their original customs such as cannibalism, polygamy, and shamanism. But it appears there could not have been another outcome, since the missionaries came to Brazil with a twofold mission: to convert the Indians to the "true Faith" and to bring them into the civilization. Obviously, both aims meant the elimination of indigenous traditional culture and replacement of it by western socio-cultural patterns. In fact, the missions' task, accomplished by blending paternalism and exploitation, was in itself contradictory. Thus, even the missionaries' attempts to protect the Indians from slavery were compliant with the purpose of civilizing and is often seen as motivated by economic interests instead of altruism (Simonsen, 1962).

Jesuit control over the Indians was a source of constant friction involving the missionaries, the settlers, and the Crown. By maintaining the Indians on the missions the priests' interests ran counter to the economic interests of the colony which needed Indian labor. Also, the power of the Jesuits, a highly organized and hierarchical religious order, was seen as a menace to the colonial government. Thus, the conflicting relationship of these three forces was recurring throughout the period in which the Jesuits were in charge of the Indians. Finally, the Jesuits were expelled from Portuguese territories in 1759. This was an act of the Marquis de Pombal, penipotenciary minister of the Portuguese Crown from 1750 to 1777 and a profound enemy of the Jesuits.

In 1755 and 1757, first before the fall of the Ignatians, two royal decrees sought to radically modify indigenous social status in the colony. Through these decrees, issued by Pombal, the Indians were legally emancipated and put on par with the other subjects of the Crown. Also, this set of laws not only canceled the missionary control over the Indians, but encouraged marriage between Indians and Portuguese and transformed former mission villages into towns and villages. This process is summed up by Wagley and Harris,

> . . . mission villages were by decree transformed into colonial towns (vilas) and villages (lugares) and given legal charters. The descendants of those mission Indians, who no longer belonged to a tribe, were now legally considered colonials of Brazil. In this way, a large mass of people who biologically speaking were primarily American Indian, but who were carriers of a mixed Indian-Iberian culture, were assimilated into colonial life. Without the protection of the missionaries, they soon became peasants in Brazilian society, just as did the mestizos and Indians brought into the orbit of colonial society by slavery and commercial relations. (1964:29)

Nevertheless, it seems that history was not so complaisant even with those assimilated. Their fate, in essence, was not so different from that which existed before the decrees. The state of servility went on, as well as the prejudice against their ethnic conditions.

In reality, neither the Jesuits' control over the Indians nor the Pombal's law was successful. In the first case the missionaries' tutelage was periodically replaced by lay administration, depending on the pressures from the settlers. In the second case, the law had a short life. According to Hemming (1978) and Morner (1967) Pombal's law that granted the same protection to the Indians as the colonists was not only sudden but unrealistic. It did not take into account the effects of many years of tutelage, nor the settlers eagerness for

native labor. In fact, this law seems to have been only an outgrowth of the conflict of power between the Marquis de Pombal and the Jesuits, since the process of Christianization and civilization sponsored by the state did not stop at this point (cf. Otavio, 1946; Hemming, 1978; Kiemen, 1954; Azevedo, 1976).

Pombal's laws represented the very contradictions of the colonial society born from the clash of interests among the forces that shaped Colonial Brazil, that is, the Crown, the Church, and the settlers. However, it is not my intention to discuss this controversial subject here. What is important now is the fact that the expulsion of the Jesuits and the cancellation of the administration of Indian affairs by any religious order meant a definitive rupture between the Church and the State. This comprised a new kind of relationship between Brazilian society and the Indians, one without the lawfully enforced mediation of the missionaries.

The Late Colonial Period and Empire (1759-1889)

Due to its socio-political implications, the expulsion of the Jesuits from Brazil in 1759 constituted a landmark event in the history of the relationship between the Indians and the whites. This was because the missionaries had held both administrative and religious control over the Indians for more than one century and this had provided some basis for an indigenous policy in Brazil during the colonial and imperial periods. On the other hand, the act of expelling the Jesuits was proceeded by the withdrawal of all missionary tutelage. The Indian administration came to be a civil and governmental concern as it

is today. Furthermore, the laws emancipating the Indians, issued by the Marquis de Pombal, were a failure. In this manner there were no substantial changes in the indigenous underdog conditions throughout the subsequent centuries. Indeed, without the protection of the missionaries (mainly the Jesuits), the Indians became more vulnerable to exploitation by the settlers. Despite their failures, the Jesuits were undoubtedly a barrier to the settlers' desire to exploit Indian labor.

Commenting upon a text of the Marquis de Queluz, counselor of Dom Joao VI, Carlos de Araujo Moreira Neto (1971), a Brazilian anthropologist, suggests that there was no real end to the indigenous exploitation with the laws of emancipation. Although the Indian population settled in the new villages were legally emancipated, they were submitted to a disastrous economic and social competition with the regional society. Such a competition resulted in a deeply disorganized, dispersed, and abased mass of Indians. Without property these Indians became marginalized and distinct from both the western society, composed mainly of backwoodsmen, and the tribalized Indians. However, it should be stated that the tribalized Indians were not free from persecution either. If the emancipation decrees worked in the coastal region where slave labor imported from Africa was able to meet the plantations' needs, the same did not happen in the northern provinces. There, where the Indians continued to constitute the main source of labor, the outrageous decimentos persisted, despite the protection guaranteed by the law. Here the oppression against the Indians continued to be as strong as it had been before. To add to the problems above, the Directory of Indians was created in 1757. This organization put lay directors in the villages to control the Indians. The directors, however, were nothing

more than a new source of corruption and indigenous exploitation. It should be stressed that the corruption was not due to a failure of this system in itself, in essence very well planned-out, but due to the directors whose work was in general a disaster (Moreira Neto, 1971). On this matter a Portuguese historian wrote that:

> The transformation was not as the liberal dispositions of the decree of 1775 led one to believe. . . . The Directory became, in fact, the continuation of the old regime under the administration of a secular officer. . . . The Indians were submitted to the same tutelage; and, though there existed in the villages the nominal authority of mayors, of the town council, and of the more distinguished natives, the real power was held by the Portuguese Director, who disposed of everything without the least limitation. Due to the lack of trained personnel, this post was held by individuals of the military caste: officers first, going down the scale to corporals. The men who were entrusted to a mission of such great social implication must often have been both ignorant and tyrannical. . . . Instead of applying themselves to the farming of the lands that belonged to them in the settlements, the Indians wandered from one place to another. At the Director's bidding they performed various tasks which he arbitrarily gave them. This was the background of the disolation and progressive decadence of the areas . . . where the Governor had been persuaded to allow some of them to work more than human strength can endure. (Azevedo, 1965:184-186)

Moreover, the Indians were not only exploited in their labor but also in their production. As the Indians were not prepared to trade by themselves, the directors assisted them in their commerce and regulated the prices of the products to be sold or bartered. Aware of the character of these directors it is not hard to imagine what kind of role they performed in their commercial transactions. Indigenous lack of skill in trading, however, should not be ascribed to the new regime, but to Indian serfdom in the mission villages. Under tutelage of the missionaries the Indians lived apart from the rest of colonial society, although they were recruited to work for the settlers, and did not appear to participate in the missionaries' trade. Writing about the

contact between the Tenetehara and the colonists when they took beef from the mission villages to sell in São Luis, Gomes states that

> . . . there is no indication that through this contact and by virtue of the fact that the Tenetehara ever acquired the ability to become traders or brokers, or any skill that would raise them above the level of serf laborers and subsistence oriented Indians. (1977:80-81)

Certainly this was true for most of the Indian groups attracted to the mission villages.

The lack of knowledge of trade seems to indicate that most of the Indians were not prepared to occupy higher levels in the colonial society. In such a society so hierarchically structured there was no room for the Indians. Even those who were sent to Europe to study, or those who had such opportunities in Brazil, were only used as instruments of evangelization. In the mission the Indians were prepared to serve both the missionaries and the Crown. For instance, it was through indigenous labor that the Jesuits were able to possess nine farms in the captaincy of Pará, and six for cattle raising in Maranhão (Moreira Neto, 1971). Moreover, the relationship between the Indians and the missionaries was never on equal terms. The Indians always were considered bodies to be Christianized and a means of production.

The complete failure of Pombal's directory system resulted in its abolition in 1798. However, its annulment did not mean the return of control over the Indians to the missionaries. In this new situation,

> The Indians were put on equal footing with others under the law . . . the oppressive tutelage to which they had been subject was extinguished. It was determined that the contracts for the hiring of service should be made by mutual agreement of the parties involved. Once more the raids and offensive wars against the Indians were prohibited. . . . But the characteristic aspect of the new structure consisted of grouping the Indians into a militia corps whose officers would be, without distinction, the principal Indians and the whites

> who were residents of the villages. Under such an order, the change of the primitive system could not have been more radical: via the Directory, the savage groups (sic) passed from the theocratic regime to military. (Azevedo, 1965: 188)

However, the de jure situation which should have placed the Indians in parity with the rest of the settlers was once again countered by de facto existence of economic interests. The colonist never stopped expropriating the Indian's labor, no did the armed forces stop attacking the "uncivilized" tribes. The expansion of the colonial society, the expansion of the plantations, and the search for exportable products or the forest all resulted in the expulsion of the Indians from their lands or led to peonage. Thus, this new carta regia reestablishing the equality for the Indians also forced them to work in public and private services, although with a salary.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century the Portuguese Crown decreed new violent rules against the Indians. Thus, in 1808, the Governor of Minas Gerais was permitted to wage ware against the Botocudos. Also, a new law decreed 15 years of slavery for those Indians captured in war (Kiemen, 1965). In December of this same year a new decree attempted to group all Indians who required royal protection into hamlets. If they were small in number they would be sent to work for a landlord who would provide their subsistence, clothes, and religious teaching for a period of 12 years (cf. Arnaud, 1973). Near the end of the Colonial Period, still more discriminatory decrees were issued, making it clear that there was no real interest in assimilating indigenous poopulations, but only in fulfilling momentary needs. For instance, in 1811 a royal document ordered suppression of butchery and cruelty against the Apinaye, Xavante, and Canoeiros, but at the same

demanded military force to be applied against them; and in 1819 a decree granted mercy to the Indians of the northeast due to their good services during a revolution in Recife (Arnaud, 1973).

Brazil's independence from Portugual in 1822 did not seem to lead to any modification in Indian policy. Indeed, the situation of the Indian seemed to be more restricted than in previous and later centuries. The only Brazilian leader of independence who spoke of indigenous problems was Jose Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva, an outstanding architect of the process of independence. A document written by him "Apontamentos para a civilizacoa dos indios bravos do Imperio do Brasil," was discussed in the Constitutional assembly of 1823 (Arnaud, 1973). Kiemen states that

> This code contained humane, judicious and practical prescriptions, tending to guarantee the Indians their liberties and rights and to promote their access to civilized social and religious life. The "Apontamentos," however, struck too close for comfort at the slave-holders, and so the Constitution of 1824 was promulgated with this radical omission and the question of the Indians and slaves was left unsolved for many years. (1965:267)

Thus, once again, a measure which could have benefited the Indians was put aside due to private economic interests.

The preoccupation of avoiding any damage to the mode of production present in the Brazilian Empire, based on slave labor, is confirmed by the new attempt to promote indigenous "civilization." In 1831 a proposal directed to the "Conselho da Provincia do Para," argued for the need to regulate the Indian situation in order to civilize them. Notwithstanding, this proposal defended Pombal's decrees warning that an illegal, fraudulent, and negligent replacement of African slave labor by indigenous slaves could damage provincial agriculture. As with José

Bonifacio's "apontamentos," this proposal was not approved by the Province (Arnaud, 1973).

In 1841 two imperial decrees dealt with the Indian problem. The first again granted freedom to the Indians but classified them as orphans. As a benefit of protection they could receive material aid from the Empire until they were able to work for wages or to learn factory crafts. Also, they were to be governed by orphan judges who would investigate any abuse made against their freedom (Arnaud, 1973). The second decree was issued in 1845. It reinstated the earlier directory system. However, the new directors had only an honorary function for which they received no monetary help. They were authorized to

> . . . demarcate and lease out the lands inhabited by the Indians; to exercise vigilance over the relationship of the same with the civilized or when they worked in public service; to inspect the application of revenue to the villages; to serve as attorneys over their jurisdiction; and to order detention for a period of 8 days, delivering to justice the practicioners of grave faults. (Arnaud, 1973:18)

No deep insight is needed to perceive that the lack of salaries or any form of funding could not favor the Indians. Numerous were the claims made by the Indians against the directors who used the Indians and their lands as if they were their own personal property. In fact, the directors generally were again the main benefactors of both the goods and services produced by the villages.

According to Kiemen (1965) during the nineteenth century, especially after 1850, a factor which acted to help the Indians "was their strong influence on sciences, letters, and art." This author continues

> . . . it is enough to mention the name of romanticist Jose Martiniano de Alencar, who more than all the rest perpetuated the story of the heroic actions of the savage and his proximate sad demise. At the same time a whole group of scientists turned their attention to the Indians' "ethnic superiority" and their right to liberty. Pedro II promoted new scientific expeditions into the backlands, like those of Agassiz, Steinen, and Ehrenreich. Anthropological expositions like that of the National Museum in 1882 became a sort of fad. (1965:269)

Nevertheless, I do not believe the contribution of these scientists and intellectuals deeply changed the image of the Indians or gave rise to an actual indigenous policy. All of them were embeded in an ideology of European culture and/or racial superiority. For instance, the zoologist Agassiz, after a trip to Brazil wrote a book in which he presented the country as an example of the bad effects of miscegenation. For him Brazil had deteriorated due to the blend of races (Skidmore, 1974). In turn, Egon Schaden writes that the German anthropologist, Karl von den Steinen, an orthodox evolutionist and former pupil of Adolf Bastian,

> . . . despite the impartiality and the sympathy with which he describes the Indians of the Xingu, despite the force of objectivity and of the manifested proposition to refrain from moral judgements . . . he does not conceal the pride of the civilized European in front of the primitiveness of the natives, in which he looks above all to discover remnants of the first stages passed through by man in the evolution of culture. (1977:81)

Writers like Alencar clearly served to divulge an unreal image of the Indians, for his writings tell about mythical and romantic indigenous characters.

Adding to this prejudice, Brazilians of the nineteenth century suffered from a set of value which the writer Vianna Moog called mazombism, that is, a spiritual attachment to European roots and a repulse of everything native (cf. Wagley, 1979). Even the Brazilian

Emperor, Pedro II, could be cited as an example of this ideological Europeanism which also involved racism. He maintained an abundant correspondence with the Comte de Gobineau, whose writings were the basis for many theories of racism (Moreira Neto, 1971). Such a climate of identification with the European tradition certainly affected the relationship between the larger society--through its political, economic, and intellectual elite--and the tribal societies. On the one side was the civilized, white, and European descendent Brazilian Imperial society; and on the other, Mestizos, Blacks, and Indians representing stagnation, racial inferiority, and barbarism. The very lack of information about the Indian question that characterizes the Brazilian Empire may represent a deliberate official effort to eliminate references to those savages who were still alive (Moreira Neto, 1971).

By the end of the nineteenth century many Indians who settled in the interior of Brazil shared a blend of native and European traits and probably had lost most of their indigenous identity. They constituted part of a great mass of peasants spread throughout the backlands with ties to regional or local markets. Other Indian groups had simply disappeared. Still others, such as the Pataxó in the state of Bahia, or the Kaingáng and Shokleng in southern Brazil, were just being contacted by Brazilians. Also, many tribes continued living in isolation within Brazilian rural society, such as the Tuxá, Kiriri, and Fulniô. Even today all these groups still maintain their tribal identity despite many adverse circumstances. They are integrated into the regional economy (and by extension to the national economy) either as petty producers of agricultural products or as wage laborers. However, neither their production nor their labor is indispensable to the larger society.

Their original social organization is obliterated by values borrowed from the larger society, and their ethnicity is maintained due to external and self-ascribed barriers and cultivated through rituals in which the white population is forbidden to participate (cf. Bandeira, 1972; Pinto, 1956; Cabral Nasser, 1975). The rest of the nineteenth century, however, was not a blank page; the process of pioneering contact was moving to the interior, while the remnant Indian groups settled on the seaboard continued suffering all kinds of disabilities.

Republican Period (1889-Present)

From the late nineteenth century until the early decades of the twentieth century important new frontiers were open in response to different pressures. New incentives for westward expansion, for example, were brought by the advent of the Republic in 1889. The most important of them, according to Stauffer, were those of the political order. This author points out that

> Under the constitution of 1891, a loose federation of states replaced a centralized, imperial government. State presidents increased their power at the expense of both municipal and national authority. Vast uninhabited regions became state land, rather than national domain, and the supervision of immigration schemes to fill them was gradually taken over by state and private agencies. The young republic thus felt itself being squeezed out of the interior and almost isolated in Rio de Janeiro. To counteract this undermining of its political prestige and power, the national government threw itself energetically into a program of transportation and communications development.... This was not the only political incentive to westward expansion. The young republic, troubled by financial difficulties and military weakness, feared violation of its western borders . . . thus, with many sections of Brazil's northern and western boundaries vaguely defined and almost completely undefended, there was good reason to link not only the major inland centers of population and government to Rio de Janeiro but to push rail and telegraph lines on across virgin forest and swampland to the most inaccessible corners of the nation. (Stauffer, 1955:2-3)

In contrast to what had happened in the past in which inland penetration did not mean permanent occupation, delineation of national boundaries and territorial expansion meant fixation of pioneering homesteads, although small in number, of the dominant society. In turn, this westward advance brought railroad expansion and improvement in communication between the decision-making centers and the hinterland--through telegraph lines geographic surveys to secure adequate information about each region took place. With each advancing penetration into the hinter land came inter-ethnic contact, not always as well conducted as that led by Colonel Candido Rondon, to whom I will return later. The outcomes of these encounters were, in general, bloody clashes with loss of life on both sides; followed by the spread of diseases and, as Stauffer described it, disturbance of tribal life through, "demoralizing influences of social material innovations that were not in harmony with established custom or peculiar native needs" (1955:17).

Moreover, in addition to these rapid penetrations stimulated by political needs, actual economic frontiers also advanced throughout Brazil. New immigrants from Europe and migrants from the coast were settled in the interior. The new frontiers included the rubber boom in the Amazon Valley, already initiated by 1877; the extraction of iron deposits in the Rio Doce Valley in the state of Minas Gerais and Espirito Santo; the opening of an agricultural frontier, formed basically by small farmers immigrants in the pine forests of Paraná and Santa Catarina; and cattle ranching in Goias and Mato Grosso. Some of these frontiers were preceded or followed by the action of grileiros and bugreiros. The former were individuals who falsified titles to take possession of lands. As is stressed by Stauffer, "it was most often

they who made possible the large-scale appropriation of Indian-inhabited territory by the coffee planters and immigrant farmers of the central and southern states" (1955:43). The bugreiros were professional Indian hunters used against the Indians of Santa Catarina and São Paulo (Melatti, 1976; Santos, 1973). These hunters were paid with public funds and many of them were considered heroes by the white population. Their main job was to insure land possession by killing the Indians who lived in the territory to be occupied. Their method of reaching this end included ambushing and shooting of the Indians, poisoning the natives' drinking water, and leaving contaminated clothes near their villages.

To better understand the effects of this set of events on the tribal societies one should bear in mind that during the period between 1889 and 1910 the indigenous population lived without any governmental protection. Thus, indigenous land encroachment, exploitation, and extermination of tribal groups assumed unimagined proportions. In fact, any indigenous resistance to any form of invasion and persecution brought on a violent response. In most of the cases the Indians were considered an obstacle to Brazilian economic expansion and development and were treated as such. Except in the case of Rondon and a few scientists who visited some tribal groups, the general trend was to remove the Indians by force, if necessary, from those regions which were to be exploited. It is true that in some cases it was possible to obtain Indian cooperation. But according to Stauffer, "unfortunately, the task of winning the natives' trust and friendship was a time-consuming one. Extermination seemed to be a faster and surer way of

disposing of all present and future opposition" (1955:48). To give a better idea of the problem, I will cite several cases.

The rubber boom mobilized thousands of Brazilians who entered into contact with many tribes settled on the Amazon basin. This so-called "rubber boom" due to international demand "came to form along with the production of coffee the most important phase in the economic development of Brazil" (Reis, 1974). It was the source of attraction to thousands of people, mainly coming from the arid Brazilian northeast region, and comprised the extensive invasion of Indian territory. Because of the economic importance of the rubber, many Indians were forced to enter into peonage, working as rubber collectors for the landlords. Thus, not only were their lands encroached upon, but their labor was expropriated and their tribal socio-economic structure was disorganized. The system of serfdom was installed in the Amazon both for Indians and poor rubber gathers. The situation is described by Stauffer,

> As a general practice throughout the Amazon region, Indian and mestico laborers were lured into the service of rubber-collecting companies by a combination of false promises and easy credit on future wages. The Indian, in his ignorance of the white man's labor system, spent whatever funds were avanced without realizing that they represented an obligation on his part. Once in debt, it was almost impossible for the Indian to buy his freedom with the niggardly pay that he received for his labor, or by the sale of whatever commodities he received from the company in lieu of wages. (1955:28)

To keep the Indians imprisoned in this system of exploitation, it was a common practice to physically punish the native worker. The severe handling of large numbers of Indians during this period caused disruption of many tribal groups. The Tukuna and the Mundurucu were examples of this. The latter, because of the change in their economy

that came to be reorganized to produce a surplus, had their entire socio-cultural structure modified (Murphy, 1978). The establishment of relations with the whites and the Tukuna insertion into the rubber economy also produced deep modifications in their socio-cultural system. For instance, although they were able to maintain intact, more or less, some aboriginal institutions like marriage and kinship, the Tukuna completely lost their political and economic autonomy (Oliveira, 1964). (A more thorough analysis of the effects of the rubber trade on these two groups will appear in later chapters.) In short, this economic cycle resulted in tribal disruption, and by attracting new immigrants, it accelerated the process of miscegenation and detribalization.

The Kaingang were a seminomadic people who inhabited the southern region of Brazil. They spoke a Ge language and based their subsistence on hunting. At the present time they live scattered throughout different Indian posts and reserations of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Paraná, and São Paulo (Santos, 1975). The Kaingang of Sao Paulo inhabited forests which covered the western plateau of this state. This region became a center for coffee plantations at the end of the nineteenth century due to its rich soils. The expanding frontier brought an extraordinarily large number of frontiersmen looking for new land to grow coffee or land for speculation. Thus, in the early years of this century a railroad was built which crossed the region. To maintain their territory the Kaingang started a long and disastrous struggle against both the settlement of coffee cultivators and the railroad workers. Both enterprises were considered of national interest and so the Kaingang were seen as an obstacle to Brazilian economic progress. For that reason many Brazilians believed they should be wiped out.

An atmosphere of tension enveloped the problem; many people and institutions spoke up against the Indians, claiming they were impeding the march of national development. Others defended them, citing the atrocities that were being perpetuated against the Indians (Ribeiro, 1977; Wagley, 1977). As a result of this debate the Servico de Protecão dos Indios (Indian Protection Service) or SPI, was created in 1910. It became a landmark institution in the relation between the Indians and the whites. In 1912, the SPI established contact with the Kaingang and began the pacification process which was completed a few years later (Melatti, 1976). The pacification process resulted in depopulation due to diseases and as Wagley states, total disorganization "...due to the clash of their aboriginal values and customs with those of the national culture" (1977:278).

At the same time the Shokleng were being hunted by the bugreiros. The Shokleng (also known as Kaingang) were seminomads and lived in the pine forest where they subsisted on hunting and gathering wild products (Henry, 1964). Since their lands had been destined to receive European immigrants, and since they tried to impede the colonization process, their fate was no different from that of the Kaingang. Due to their resistance to the invasion they were attacked by military garrisons sent by the provincial government. However, it was through the armed resistance of the settlers, and especially by the action of the infamous bugreiros, that the colonization of this region was possible. Fiercely hunted by these Indian hunters, the Shokleng were slowly decimated and their opposition to the colonists faded. After 1910 the remnants of the tribe were pacified by the SPI, their permanent contact with the whites being extremely damaging (cf. Ribeiro, 1977; Santos, 1973). Most of

their population died as a result of infectious diseases and their land was encroached upon despite the presence of the SPI.

Finally, the Aimore tribe, who lived in the states of Minas Gerais and Espirito Santo, had the misfortune of living in a region rich in iron and good soil for planting coffee. As with the São Paulo Indians, they were harrassed by an agricultural frontier and construction of a railroad which permitted exploitation of the various iron deposits (Wagley, 1977). Their resistance to the Brazilian frontier was useless. Once again there was no full assimilation, but socio-cultural disintegration and occupation of Indian lands. Some of them were scattered throughout the region and others were put on a reservation by the SPI. Their territory was taken over by towns, factories, and farms.

However, a new factor had now appeared which must be taken into consideration in the relationship between the Indians and the whites. This was the SPI. As was stated above, this federal agency was created in 1910 with the purpose of protecting the Indian populations from acts of persecution and oppression and to bring them gradually into the national society. The origin of this agency was a direct result of the clash between the Indians and the non-Indians occurring in the south of Brazil. At this time, as we have seen, the Kaingang and Shokleng were fighting to defend their territories and being hunted and fiercely killed in the name of development. These clashes and the news of how the Indians were being persecuted and exterminated caused intense national discussion dividing public opinion between those who agreed with the violent reaction from the government against the Indians and those who defended the protection of the natives (cf. Ribeiro, 1962; Stauffer, 1955). The most intense debate on this subject was between

the Positivists and Herman von Inherings. The latter, a German scientist and on that occasion the director of the Natural History Museum of the State of São Paulo, defended the extermination of the Indians. In an ambiguous article, he saw extinction of the Indian as unavoidable and thereby justified the fight against them promoted by the settlers in Santa Catarina. Justifying his position, he argued that,

> The indigenous element will disappear from Brazil, absorbed by the white race. Martius in 1838 said: There are two things that humanity transmits through heredity; blood and spirit. The Indian in America will leave only vestiges of both. For this reason it can be said that the American race has no future. In our view, it has to disappear. Legislation and public administration should bow before this lesson of science and experience. (Quoted in Kietzman, 1972:3)

Against Ihering's position rose the Positivists who were influenced by Auguste Comte's philosophy of social evolution. They claimed that, if protected, the Indians would evolve to take their orderly place in Brazilian civilization. Their counterattack resulted in the creation of the agency charged with indigenous affairs, that is the SPI.

Due to his experience in dealing with Indian tribes during various expeditions into the interior, Candido Mariano Rondon was appointed first director of the SPI. Under his management the SPI developed a policy in which the Indians were respected as people, although in accordance with his Positivist principles he expected to gradually civilize them (Ribeiro, 1962). However, despite the founders' and collaborators' idealistic and humanitarian concerns, this agency's performance was irregular and its goals were not always attained. It was able to pacify many tribes but could not insure the indigenous fate after pacification. "As a result," says Shelton Davis, "in almost every area of Brazil where the SPI functioned, Indians were wiped out by

diseases or became marginalized ethnic populations on minuscule parcels of land" (1977:5). Nevertheless, due to the SPI's intervention, even though incomplete, many tribes were able to survive the first impact with the civilized world. Certainly they would have disappeared in the case of direct contact with the national society through inevitable encroachments, diseases, and exploitation of labor (Ribeiro, 1977).

Throughout its lifetime the SPI suffered many different attacks which contributed to its failure. As Ribeiro (1962) stressed, the SPI was a product of the thinking of urbanities. They were shocked by the stories of raids on the Indians and so they felt the need to stop the brutality against those romantic and generous people. However, for the frontiersmen, the rubber collector, or the big rural landowner the Indian image was (and continues to be today) different. For them the Indians were only an obstacle, a ferocious enemy who should be wiped out or put into peonage. Truly, their mentality and aims were not so different from the early colonists. Excluding the frontiersmen, whose socio-economic situation was often as marginal as that of the Indians, the rural landlords (as well as the big corporations of today) had sufficient power to influence any decision on Indian destiny. Thus, governmental bureaucracy, insufficient funds, regional economic interests, political pressures, and finally, internal disorganization and corruption destroyed the SPI. In 1968 it was dissolved after an enormous scandal and replaced by the National Indian Foundation, or FUNAI (Davis, 1977; Wagley, 1977).

Since its creation FUNAI has been criticized both for its controversal Indian policy and for its ambiguous bureaucratic position. The latter refers to the fact that it does not have autonomy; it is an

agency charged with administration of Indian affairs under the Ministry of the Interior which is also concerned with promoting Brazilian economic development. Accordingly, this agency in the early 1970's tied the Indian's destiny to a policy more concerned with exploiting their land and labor than protecting and assisting them. It should be said that such a policy was inherited from the Renda Indígena (Indian Revenue) policy of the SPI. This revenue comprised the sale of indigenous production, such as cattle, rubber, corn, rice, and the like. The profit from Indian labor was sent to FUNAI's headquarters and then redistributed. However, this redistribution was made according to different criteria. Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira (1978) in a sharp analysis of this problem stresses that Indian Revenue might be applied to both non-productive Indian reservations and to finance bureaucratic and technical service in the various branches of FUNAI. Thus, through this policy the agency hoped to become self-financing and not be forced to deviate from its true goals: to assist and protect the Indians. This entrepreneuer mentality, states Oliveira,

> results in that groups which produce nothing for the market can participate in this revenue, at the same time those groups which constitute the principle producers of commercial goods may or may not receive it, or only receive a small part of what is effectively produced. The consequences of this in terms of production incentive, as we would expect, are more negative. On the other hand--and as a result of the institute of Indigenious Revenue--these Posts, as well as in the rest of Brazilian territory, will be organized or aimed to be organized in the form of an enterprise. In such an organization, the Indians are not the controllers of production, since this is controlled through trade by the Indian Post, whose principle objective is not, clearly, the well being of the native community. On the other hand, this "enterprise" has a character sui generus, once that the inherent rationalization of the enterprise organization is not carried to the ultimate consequences: the Indians do not have the status of small shareholders in the enterprise (if one considers that the land and natural resources are theirs),

> nor of being employed . . . (also) they do not participate in any degree in the sphere of decision-making relative to the organization of their economy and the promotion of their development. (1978:137-138)

Such a policy enabled many tribes to act as corporate enterprises and, therefore, created widespread criticism. One such criticism was that the policy clearly represented a form of internal colonialism in which the indigenous labor force was exploited by a distinct mode of production that, in its turn, did not permit the complete passage of the indigenous economic organization from the non-capitalist to capitalist economy. Although the Indians theoretically maintained control over the means of production, since they had usufruct right over the land and relative control over their labor, their product was in reality handled by FUNAI which functioned as a middleman perpetuating a pattern of dependency. If the Indians managed to bypass FUNAI and sell their production directly in the market, they were often cut-off by ethnic factors. Thus, a social relation defined in terms of domination-subordination was aggravated by ethnic distinctions which often permeated the economic relationship between the Indians and the whites. Regarding this Roberto Cardose de Oliveira (1976) demonstrated how products sold by some tribal groups in northeast Brazil tended to be ignored by white traders who gave priority for acquiring the products sold by the regional peasants. This characterized what he called "lateral exploitation," provoked by ethnic discrimination. Thus, the Indians suffered asymmetrical treatment both officially through FUNAI's tutelage and from the white population due to its pretense of ethnic superiority.

In addition to the patron-client relationship which has characterized the relationship between FUNAI and the Indians, this agency has retained certain old vices that plagued SPI. Among them it seems that the most common has been related to an endemic lack of efficiently prepared directors. This fact has strongly influenced Indian policy since the policy has depended more upon outside interests, and upon the directors' political "interpretation" of the Indian Statute, than the actual needs and problems of the Indians. Moreover, the directors of FUNAI have been exposed to all kinds of external pressures to which they must adjust in order to survive. For instance, recently one director was forced to resign because he appeared more interested in considering the Indian claims than external pressures. He was replaced by an army colonel who "within a few months earned the wrath of Indians and Indianists throughout Brazil" (Cultural Survival, 1979:4). This same colonel asserted that "to administer FUNAI it is not necessary to understand Indians. It is only necessary to understand administration." This statement is typical of the mentality of most of those who directed FUNAI during the last decade. To them the Indians have been a technical question and a political problem--not a human problem.

If in the beginning of this century the expanding frontiers were characterized by cattle raisers, collectors of natural products, and agriculturalists in general acting individually, or at most in small enterprises, at the present the Indian societies are facing more powerful opponents (Davis, 1977; Ribeiro, 1977). Today, unlike the situation some 10 to 15 years ago, their fate depends more on the designs of big private corporations, both multinational and national, or on large state-owned corporations. These corporations operate through complex

bureaucracies, advanced technology, and massive investment of capital, and are exploiting chiefly three sectors of the Brazilian economy: cattle breeding, agriculture, and mining.

Although these corporate operations can be seen as fundamentally similar to Ribeiro's frontiers in their design, they differ largely in their structural organization, power of action, and sophistication. Moreover, they represent the crystallization of an economic policy that tends to be irreversible. This policy, according to Hewlett, is "firmly committed to rapid economic growth and less concerned with the human consequences of its economic programs that had been true of previous Brazilian regimes" (1980:171). It was caused by an economic model turned toward a capitalist market economy and opposed to all forms of welfare which might hinder its development (Berger, 1974). Needless to say, such a determination to develop the country has not been circumscribed to the industrial areas of Brazil. The Brazilian federal government has been determined to develop and exploit the country as a whole. Millions of dollars have been invested on the new westward march. This effort in promoting inland development is well summarized by Wagley:

> This enormous investment in providing internal transportation for the region and linking the region to the rest of Brazil will be accompanied by a massive colonization scheme which it is hoped will settle hundreds of thousands of Brazilians from other regions of the country in the Amazon region. In addition, concessions to giant corporations, both Brazilian and foreign, are being granted to exploit mineral and forest resources, to establish pastures and a livestock industry, and to plant quick-growing trees for pulp. The whole program is taking place in an atmosphere of patriotic national mobilization, almost as if it were a time of war. (1974:6)

The disastrous outcome of these programs on the Indian population has been documented and analyzed in various publications. On this matter Davis states that, "the massive amount of diseases, death, and human

suffering unleashed upon the Brazilian Indians in the past few years is a direct result of the economic development policy of the military government of Brazil . . ." (1978:xi).

The focus for this new push for development is exactly the area containing the major concentration of the remaining indigenous tribes within the Amazonian and Central regions of Brazil. This area may have 200 different Indian communities settled in it. Most of these communities base their subsistence on hunting, fishing, and gardening activities. Furthermore, they maintain close attachments to their ancestral territories from which they secure their subsistence and build their mythical world, which is fundamental to maintaining their distinctive tribal identify.

In time, most of these Indians will be affected in their modus vivendi by the new frontiers of expansion. In fact, at the present time many of them are already affected, mainly by the road-building programs which have been the backbone of the government's efforts to rapidly industrialize and integrate the country (cf. Davis, 1977). Roads such as the Belem-Brasilia, built before 1964, and the Trans-Amazon Highway have provoked direct contact between tribal groups and the newcomers which have sometimes resulted in violent clashes. Also, along with the roads and the people, new diseases have arrived as lethal now as in the colonial times. On this aspect Bunker says that

> The most disastrous and long-lived effects of the road-building program, however, may well be the introduction of new diseases. In addition to the influenza, measles, and smallpox, the Northern Perimeter road may spread a fly-borne disease which results in blindness. In some newly opened areas, incidence of disease among indigenous groups has reached 80 percent. (1980:37)

The same problems brought by the Europeans 400 years ago are again

plaguing the Indians of the Amazon today. Confiscation of Indian lands has not stopped. Several big corporations, receiving massive fiscal incentives from the government, have installed large cattle ranches or are mining on tribal territories. In addition to these enterprises, there are land companies which claim large extensions of land for exploiting or trade. Wagley (1977) tells us that at the end of the 1960's a land company claimed a hugh tract of land which included the Tapirapé village as well as their area for gardening. This company threatened to remove the Tapirapé from their village on the western bank of the Araguaia River to an inadequate environment on Bananal Island. In 1967 the now defunct SPI secured from the land company the site of their village and part of their garden land. However, the Tapirapé continue to be endangered by the threat of being dislocated from this territory.

In another region the Yanomamo have started to suffer the impact of this new expansion. These natives are settled between the Orinoco River in Venezuela and the Maruia River in Brazil (Davis, 1977). In their territory an immense uranium field and cassiterite deposit was discovered. According to Davis (1977), the existence of these minerals was known in that region as far back as 1951. However, its exploitation did not begin until 1970 when the Brazilian government allocated enough money for this end. To facilitate the mining, the construction of two new roads in that region was begun in 1973. The roads were the North Perimeter and the Manaus-Boa Vista. They cross the southern boarder of the Yanomamo projected reservation and another smaller road should cut across the northern sector. According to Claudia Andujar (1979), as a result of the North Perimeter road diseases like colds, measles, and

venereal infections were spread among the Indians. Also, she adds that because of the contact,

> . . . in the first 130 kilometers of the stretch from Caracarai, Roraima to Icana, Amazonas, some 650 Indians from 13 villages died. Those Indians who survived (about 15% of the original population of the area) live today along the shoulder of the road, bedraggled and in a state of cultural and psychological degradation. (1979:35)

The process of exploitation of that region seems to be irreversible; therefore, only a true and effective Indian policy could possibly avoid the complete disorganization and extinction of the Yanomamo. But, these are merely two examples among hundreds. In fact, as Bunker writes:

> During the decade now ending (1970's), the expansion of capitalist enterprise into the Amazon created the fastest-moving and most volatile frontier in Brazilian history. As in early Brazilian frontiers the advance of capitalist enterprise into new areas disrupted, and in many cases destroyed, peasant communities, indigenous societies, and natural biotic systems. (1979:44)

From this historical perspective we can perceive that the indigenous societies which managed to survive were always deeply modified in socio-cultural terms. Due to their integration into a market economy they lost their economic self-sufficiency and were forced to produce surpluses to meet new needs brought on by the increasing dependence upon manufactured goods. Their very perception of value came to be changed. Traditional production of tribal societies, like agricultural or fishing items, were characterized by their use-value, that is, their intrinsic value to satisfy internal socio-economic needs of whatever kind. They were not produced for profit, but for consumption or to be used in social obligations (cf. Marx, 1977). Only after the integration into a market economy did Indian production start to have an exchange-value, thereby taking on another economic meaning. It came to be a commodity

utilized to cheat the Indians unaccustomed with its standard value. The passage of tribal production from utilitarian items to commodities has been crucial to the process of detribalization. Having to produce a surplus for trade, the indigenous labor force has lost its exclusive application of tribal tasks. Many tribes have increased their economic activities to face commercialization and this has often led to substantial changes in the internal mechanisms of labor organization. This includes emphasis on individual labor instead of collective labor, as happened with the Mundurucu (Murphy, 1978). With this, obligations to the nuclear family became more important than to the household, weakening tribal solidarity.

Due to some factors like land shortage, lack of financing, or poor technology, labor organization has not been sufficient in itself to guarantee the livelihood of the Indians as a tribal unity. Hence, indigenous labor has gradually been transformed into a commodity. In this case Indians became wage laborers or enter into sharecropping arrangements with non-Indians. Therefore, their labor is sold in order to supplement their basic needs. In this situation it is common for the Indian workers to become involved in disputes in the local and regional labor market with poor rural Brazilians, often creating overt clashes. In general, the conflicts occur because of the ethnic component which prevades the relationship between the Indians and the non-Indians. Working for wages can be temporary during non-harvest time, or permanent. It seems the latter has become common among those groups whose lands are no longer sufficient to supply community needs. This corresponds to those Indian groups considered by Darcy Ribeiro as integrated; that is, already performing effective economic participation in the national

society mainly as a marginal labor force and practically without land or no land at all.

The Indians' right to the lands which they occupy has been an old preoccupation. This right has been recognized since the first moments of colonization, as was corroborated by the royal charter of 1680, the concern shown by the SPI in defending indigenous lands, and the ratification of the Indian Statute issued in 1973. Even so, indigenous possession of their lands continues to be a crucial problem. Invasion of Indian lands has never stopped due to the constant lack of police power to intervene and restrain the abuses. The arguments used to justify the occupation of Indian land have varied from the "just wars" to reasons of national interest due to valuable subsoil deposits. It seems that the worst period to land encroachment was between 1889 and 1910 when the Indians were divested of any governmental protection. Even with the governmental protection provided by the SPI, it has not impeded encroachment. About this Kietman writes:

> Part of the problem encountered by the Indian Service stems from the fact that, following the installation of the republican government in 1889, a concession was made to the regional tendencies that have always been strong in Brazil. This included the transfer of title of all devoluta, or unoccupied, land from central government to the new state governments. This change in control would later require the Indian Service, which was charged with the responsibility of securing proper titles to Indian lands, but without being given adequate financial resources to purchase it or even fence it, to negotiate directly with each state government in an effort to have the land in question granted to it. (1972:126)

The same problem has plagued FUNAI. Lack of funds, lack of political power to face local and regional interests, and internal problems have led FUNI to perform unsatisfactorily in its duties in relation to

indigenous lands. And, the retention of land by the Indians is crucial for their survival.

It is important to bear in mind that the Brazilian Indians have no effective control over their land, even after reserves are legalized, for it is considered governmental patrimony. The government can decide to exploit Indian lands for valuable subsoil deposits of interest to national development. Indian groups may even be removed from one area to another for a number of reasons (cf. The Indian Statute, Article 20). The Indians retain only usufuct rights over these reservations which means the land cannot be used as collateral to obtain "outside" credit which might help the Indians improve or increase their production by themselves. It is true that this measure impedes theft, or sale, of indigenous land. However, at least in the case of those Indian groups who represent the extreme case in the process of acculturation, lack of control over their land leaves them under strict economic dependence of the Indian Post. Also, as means of production the land is often not sufficient to guarantee their livelihood. Hence, as was mentioned above, many Indians need to sell their labor or enter into sharecropping arrangements with non-Indians in order to survive, or they must migrate to urban centers looking for jobs. A few exceptions in the northeast and south of Brazil, for instance, are the Fulnio, Pankararu, Kiriri, and the Kaingang whose lands are compatible with their economic needs.

Furthermore, Indians are considered minors by the law and the FUNAI acts as their guardian. Thus, they do not have the prerogative of the common Brazilian citizen. This tutelage means that they cannot make the ultimate decisions nor can they appoint their own leaders, although theoretically FUNAI claims to allow them such powers. But, in fact,

FUNAI is charged with interfering with internal tribal political affairs (cf. Cadernos da Comissão Pró-Indio, 1979). It is said that FUNAI employees prefer to deal with individuals or families whom they can control and manipulate. This is made easier by the legal position as minor of the Indians and the perpetuation of the inferior image of the Indian as "child-like."

The new pro-Indian groups of Brazilian citizens organized in various communities throughout Brazil claim that the Indians are mature beings and as such they should be permitted to decide their own fate. However, since colonial times they have been seen and manipulated as children. They are considered, even in their adulthood, to be unable to decide for themselves due to their "innocence" or inferior cultural background in relation to the western patterns. Moreover, there has always been the idea that the Indians must be integrated into national society in order to be useful. Nevertheless, this process of integration has always been undermined by the expropriation of indigenous labor and land. Also, the policies pursued do not allow the passage from tribal condition to full participation in a pluri-ethnic society, nor do they provide massive economic, educational, and technological aid to Indians. The Indians should be integrated without losing their ethnic identity; that is, without being divested of their ethnic specificity. But, it seems there is no room within Brazilian society to accept the Indians as such, or it is in that condition they are nothing more than obstacles to national progress.

Brazilian racial democracy has confused cultural diversity with inequality, hence the project of emancipation in 1978 or Pombal's decrees in 1752. In both cases attempts were made to transform the

Indians into western citizens through decree, as if it were possible to erase an ethnic identity by a legal act. On the other hand, the lack of real institutional support has brought the Indians into the national society as participants on the lowest level of the society. In short, throughout history the contradictions of the dominant society have paradoxically neither permitted the Indians to be Indians, nor allowed them to be fully assimilated. And so, these contradictions have functioned as one of the mechanisms to maintain the indigenous "Indianness."

In this chapter I summarized the history of contact between the Indians and Brazilian society. In the following chapters my purpose will be to depict briefly the ethno-history of the Tukuna, the Mundurucu, the Tenetehara, and the Tuxá. The particular focus on their ethno-history and ethnography will allow a more accurate perception of the mechanisms whereby the tribes have managed to survive and continue as ethnic units differentiated from the larger society.

CHAPTER III
THE TUKUNA OF SOLIMÕES

Within Brazil the Tukuna have lived scattered along igarapés (small tributaries) and the banks of the Solimões River in the state of Amazonas. Their territory is near the border of Peru and Colombia where part of their population is also settled. About the territory they used to occupy, Curt Nimuendajú wrote,

> . . . formerly, the territory of the tribe comprised the jungle centers off the left bank of the Amazon-Solimões from 71 ± 15' (Ilha Peruate) to 68°40' W. longitude. . . . The Tukuna did not then inhabit the banks of the Amazon-Solimões, for fear of the Omagua, who occupied the islands of the river through its course in Tukuna territory and even far beyond. (1952:2-3)

With the disappearance of the Omagua from the river islands, cursed by European diseases and Portuguese and Spanish raids, the Tukuna began to spread out along the banks and islands of the Solimões. However, it seems that this was not a massive migration. Many of them moved from the uplands to the igarapés and then to the main stream of the Solimões. This migration from the inland to riverine areas led them to adopt subsistence skills such as fishing and canoeing. At the present, this migratory movement is still an ongoing process, although the Tukuna have almost entirely moved onto the riverbanks (cf. Oliveira, 1978; Oliveira Filho, 1977).

Several political and economic forces have shaped and determined the lives of the Tukuna. Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, who has done field work several times among them, suggests that their migration to

the edge of the river has very often been a result of their search for protection and better socio-economic conditions. Living along the igarapés they are under stricter control and exploitation by local landlords. Near the main streams which are navigated for the regatões (maverick traders), they have more alternatives with their economic affairs. Also, since the larger settlements are now on the larger rivers, the Tukuna can take advantage of the facilities offered by the towns, which are lacking along the igarapés. In addition to better opportunities for trade, they have found means for schooling their children and even time for leisure activities (Oliveira, 1978).

The Tukuna linguistic affiliation has not yet been determined. In terms of population, according to Oliveira Filho's (1979) census carried out in 1974, they form a large population with about 9,000 people who are distributed through rubber plantations, small towns, and reservations. It seems their population has shown a high rate of growth. Nimuendajú (1952) estimated a Tukuna population of about 3,000 individuals, including those living in Peru and Colombia. In turn, Oliveira (1964) estimated that the people settled in Brazilian territory could number about 4,000. The same author found a significant increase a decade latter (Oliveira, 1978), which was confirmed by Oliveira Filho (1977). This anthropologist also confirmed that most of the Tukuna are living along the Solimões mainstreams, unlike in the past when they were settled on uplands and afterwards on the igarapes for several decades.

The Tukuna's migration from one place to another has led them to live under different centers of power. At present, part of their population is settled within two Indian reservations, one of them only recently established, and supervised by Indian Posts. These reservations

are located in Umariacu and on the igarapé Vendaval, where until 1974 the Tukuna had lived under the system of debt-peonage. On the reservations the Indians do not suffer economic exploitation due to the presence of the Indian Post. However, this does not impede internal crisis generated by increasing factionalism which is provoked chiefly by the arrival of the Movimento da Santa Cruz (Movement of the Holy Cross), about which I will write later. Other Tukuna segments still live along the igarapes and lack official protection. Sometimes unofficial protection is offered by the missionaries. This is so in the case of Belem, a town situated near the mouth of igarape Belem, where a Catholic priest has been in confrontation with local patrons. Also present in this town is the Movement of the Holy Cross which intensified the factionalism. Finally, a large group is settled in Santa Rita do Weil, situated on the left bank of the Solimões. In this town the Tukuna are also divided betweeen two centers of power: the local traders, represented by a family of German descent, and American Protestant missionaries. The patrons control the local commerce of fish and manioc flour, which is largely supplied by the Tukuna (Oliveira, 1978). Here, as in other places, the patrons are alied with the Movement of the Holy Cross due to their competition with the missionaries for control over the Indians.

Economy

The region inhabited by the Tukuna is part of the Amazon basin. It is covered by dense rain forest rich in vegetal products which has led to an economy oriented toward the extraction of natural resources. This extractive economy has been based mainly on the exploitation of timber and rubber. During the Colonial Period other items extensively sought

were the drogas do sertão. More recently, some landlords have begun to gradually diversify their economic activities which includes cattle raising. Needless to say, the Tukuna have been affected by all aspects of this economic process.

The climate is composed of two seasons: a rainy winter (December to June), and a dry summer (July to November). During the former the low banks along the river are inundated forming "lakes and sinks in some places more than a league in width" (Nimuendajú, 1952:3). In the summer the river falls transforming the low banks into mud beaches and making the upper course of some igarapés unnavigable. According to Nimuendajú (1952) a few decades ago this region was still rich in game. However, because of the rise in the price of leather, many animals were hunted until the point of extinction, and game became rare. Assuring the Indian population of an effective source of food and protein, there is still a great abundance of fish in the numerous lakes and igarapés.

Farming and fishing have constituted the main sources of livelihood in the Tukuna economy. Their dependence on indigenous subsistence was stressed by Nimuendajú, who stated that, "If forced to, the Tukuna will go for some time without collecting wild fruits or hunting; but the complete lack of garden products and fish simply spells misery to them" (1952:21). This indicates how distressing it is for the Tukuna to be diverted from their traditional mode of production by the compulsory subjection to a continuing process of labor expropriation.

The Tukuna are slash-and-burn horticulturalists whose principal crops are manioc--bitter and sweet, maize, and yams. After contact with the whites their production of manioc flour came to be used not only for subsistence but for trade. In addition, peanuts and sweet potatoes are

grown in relatively small quantities. Some agricultural products such as watermelon, sugar cane, and squash have also been added to the crops above as a result of interaction with the Brazilians. On the other hand, other items such as cotton and tobacco have almost disappeared from their list of cultivated agricultural products since interaction with Brazilians began. According to Nimuendajú (1952) the Tukuna ceased to produce cotton after purchased cloth was used by the women and after other cotton articles were replaced by tucum palm fibers. Following the development of commerce with the Brazilians, tobacco also came to be acquired through trade.

Fishing was the primary masculine pursuit. This activity was (and is) carried out with different equipment and techniques. The pirarucu (Arapaima gigas) has constituted their staple food as well as serving as an important item for trade (Nimuendajú, 1952). Today fish continues to be a significant commodity. However its commercial importance depends on if the Indians are not compulsorily engaged in another activity controlled by the whites (Oliveira, 1964). Hunting was considered by Nimuendajú (1952) as unimportant work due to the scarcity of game in the region. However, Oliveira (1964) says that sale of hides and fish is a source of revenue when the Tukuna are not working for the whites. Gathering is a secondary activity and performed mainly by women; the men do it occasionally, that is, when the opportunity is presented.

The traditional economic organization of the Tukuna has been systematically broken-up by the influence of external forces. Forced labor and missionization, relocation, debt peonage, and land confiscation have been constant problems of interaction with the larger society. This has led the Tukuna to try to adapt their tribal economy to a

market-oriented mode of production. Therefore, production had to be directed toward not only discharging of social obligations and/or feeding themselves, but to exchanging of goods not produced through tribal skills. In 1964, Cardose de Oliveira demonstrated the repercussions of the introduction of money into the Tukuna socio-economic system; how it was modified from a system directed to fulfill their own consumption needs to one of production for the market, affecting their social organization and ideological system.

Nimuendajú (1952) suggested that the sense of territoriality appeared to be absent among the Tukuna. Even their confinement to certain upland areas seemed to be more an outcome of pressures from their traditional enemies, the Omagua and the Mayoruna, then their own volition for maintaining such lands as tribal territory. To give consistency to his hypothesis the same author added that right after their enemies had been wiped out, "the Tukuna began to spread out beyond their territorial limits, knowingly, but without scruples" (Nimuendajú, 1952: 64). Also, he indicated the direct relation between population movement and the forest available to them by stating that,

> . . . the region is so immense and the population so scanty that difficulty over land rarely arises, as it may do when civilized forces an Indian to abandon his own plot because the land now belongs to the former or when sharpers exort "taxes" from the Indians inhabiting lands which never belonged to any civilized person. (Nimuendajú, 1952:64)

Reinforcing this statement he asserted that a Tukuna never quarreled with Brazilians nor with his fellow tribesmen over land or over fish in the igarapés. Thus, he made clear that the Tukuna lack the concept of property in land.

I agree with Nimuendajú's suggestion that the vastness of the natural milieu may have resulted in Tukuna semi-nomadism. However, I

disagree with his use of the same argument to explain their passiveness before the usurpation of their lands by Brazilians. In fact, the condition of tropical forest people, whose subsistence is based on slash-and-burn horticulture, could have led them to show a certain "lack" of concept of rigidly delineated territorial zone (Nimuendajú, 1952:64), in view of the mobility necessitated by the need to search for new areas for gardening. The combination of ecological constraint, technological adjustment, and mobility is a common fact among Amazonian tribes. On the other hand, their circumscription to the uplands can be imputed to the hostile relationship with the Omagua and Mayoruna. However, I do not believe their lack of resistance to constant land encroachment could be explained by the existence of vast tracts of unoccupied land. The reason may also be found in the political and economic issues which have permeated the interaction between the Tukuna and Luso-Brazilians. Ecological factors might certainly be influential, but they alone are not able to explain the accomodation of the Tukuna before recurring removal from one place to another. With socio-cultural events, the natural milieu should not be separated from inter-group relationship, as Chagnon (1973) and Sahlins (1977) suggested. Thus, I believe the power relation which underlies the Tukuna/Brazilian interaction is much more effective in explaining the indigenous lack of resistance to the white's land encroachment.

The submission of the Tukuna by the whites has obliterated their sense of land as a tribal patrimony, at least after their lands were transformed into private property. Oliveira sharply stresses this point by saying that,

> Such is the coercive power of these enterprises, such is their sense of property, that they impress upon the Indians . . . the idea and the feelings of which the land that they securely inhabit does not belong to them, but to their patrons, their true landholders. . . . The white, with his presence in the area and with the power he is able to concentrate, attains spectacular results in distorting the thought of the Indian, making him feel as an intruder on his own property. (1964:92)

In the same vein, Oliveira adds that the very existence of the reservation as opposed to non-demarcated Indian land, has been manipulated by the landlords to assure their claim over the Indian lands. For example, if any Indian does not perform his work well or makes a claim against the whites, the proprietors argue that if he is not satisfied he should leave their lands and move to the "actual" indigenous land, that is, the reservation area. Contrasting the reservation with the rest of the region, they seek to show the Indians that their former territories no longer belong to them, but only that area demarcated by the government. Thus, indirectly, the government has paradoxically legitimatized a secular process of land usurpation.

In turn, the Indians dwelling on the reservation have become strongly aware of their land tenure rights, "especially," Oliveira says, "when threatened by the presence of early squatters (posseiros) on the federal lands" (1964:92). Whether the Tukuna had a weak sense of territoriality or not, the fact is that by reason of their oppression and subsequent protection, they became aware of their need to retain a tribal territory. Moreover, they seem to be conscious that to maintain this area, as well as other advantages that stem from their condition of reservation Indians, they must conserve their ethnic distinctiveness.

Society

Tukuna villages were constituted by large and isolated communal houses, in which more than one family lived. Because of their increasing integration into regional society, this pattern has been modified. The Tukuna are divided into two patrilineal moieties which have no particular name but are associated with the east and west. The eastern moiety is composed of 15 non-localized patrilinear sibs with tree names; the western has 21 sibs with bird names. "Neither the clans nor moieties," stated Nimuendaju, "have outward distinguishing features, except for the private use of certain musical instruments on ceremonial occasions" (1949:717). Oliveira (1964) stresses that the formal division into exogamic moieties combined with the unification through inter-clan alliances results in tribal endogamy. Without clan membership no individual has a place in the indigenous community, since he or she would not be recognized as a Tukuna. Hence, not belonging to a clan means not being a Tukuna.

Having clanic status is a result of unilinear agnatic descent. It plays an important role in ethnic identification, for it is through clanship that the individual is integrated into the tribal order. However, this is not the clan's only function as it is also the basis for inter-tribal identification. The clan provides a symbolic code by which an Indian can identify a relative by the simple enunciation of his or her name, since a person's name in the tribe is an eponymous of the clan's name (cf. Nimuendaju, 1952; Oliveira, 1964). Unlike Nimuendaju, Oliveira distinguishes sub-clans among the Tukuna. He stresses that an individual who belongs to the Arara (macaw) clan may belong to the

sub-clan Arara Vermelha (scarlet macaw). Thus, eponymous functions both to emphasize the ethnic singularity--i.e., place the Tukuna in opposition to whites and other tribes--and to identify each individual as belonging to the Tukuna tribe.

Presently, inter-ethnic contact seems to be shifting the Tukuna's pattern of descent. This is due to their effort to incorporate offspring of inter-ethnic marriage into their tribe. It should be stated that birth of mestizo children represent one of the few cases in which Tukuna can commit infanticide, for the child is disqualified from clan status (Nimuendajú, 1952). However, this rate may be changing as children of mixed marriages are incorporated into the tribe. Although Oliveira (1964) has recorded only one case, he considers it quite symptomatic since it involved manipulation of a rigid descent rule. His example deals with the offspring of a caboclo man married to a Tukuna woman. The man was the son of a Tukuna mother and a civilizado. His mother belonged to the tree clan, and so he could not have clan status, nor transmit it to his children. Taking advantage of his father-in-law's prestige in the tribe, he ritually adopted his mother's clan which was transmitted to the children. In this way he bent the rules of agnatic descent, giving his offspring Tukuna status (Oliveira, 1960, 1964).

Oliveira explains this case as a way of perpetuating the tribal group, which is all the more important on the reservation. This is because they must retain their indigenous condition in order to receive official benefits and protection through the Indian Post. In contrast to the reservation Indians, the Indians who live on igarapés or other places far away from the reservation tend to identify their offspring of

inter-ethnic marriage with the Brazilian population. This tendency makes the relationship between themselves and the white population easier and helps to integrate their progeny into the dominant society (Oliveira, 1964). Although this can appear as a channel leading toward complete assimilation, in fact it is quite deciving. Oliveira himself asserts that this process is only "social games", sometimes played with great ability. Nevertheless, the Tukuna ethnic transformation has been into the caboclo category, not into the white one. And to be caboclo was meant to be seen by the whites as something inferior, as is said by Oliveira, to be an "intruder, treacherous, indolent, in short, somebody whose only destiny is to work for the white" (1964:80). Therefore, it seems that some of the mixed offspring get only an artificial white status.

The Tukuna have maintained the rules of exogamy in a very inflexible way and consider incest as a sin which should be punished by death. Among them abortion and infanticide were rarely practiced. Both are considered crimes, jointly with incest and murder by witchcraft. Nimudendajú (1952) asserted that infanticide was more common when the child resulted from inter-ethnic marriage, for the child had no qualification for sib or moiety membership. It is possible that such rules against infanticide and abortion have helped population grow, since they may have counterbalanced the depopulation caused by important diseases (on this matter see Wagley, 1973).

Many rites follow their life cycle, but the most important seems to be those related to puberty. Nimuendajú states that, "there is a tradition in former times, young men were initiated when their voices changed, being secluded and then perhaps formally admitted to the secrets of the megaphone (ta/ki) through an application of snuff called ka/vi, which is

still used occasionally" (1949:718). The girl's initiation feast, held after she has her first menstruation, is a long event which requires months of preparation. It is attended by members of other villages and the ceremony might join over 300 people (Nimuendajú, 1952). During this period the girl is secluded within the house loft which is adjacent to the east or west part of the house, depending on her moiety. Although the girl's father is the host, her paternal uncle and his wife direct all ceremonies. Also, her uncle and her mother are the only people who can see the girl and take care of her. To this feast the guest wear special attire with masks made by themselves portraying imaginary beings. This ceremony is marked by drinking, smoking, singing, and dancing.

Despite its social importance to the Tukuna, the ceremony was almost abolished in 1970. This was caused by a large salvationist movement which was spread throughout the region by a messiah called Irmão José (Brother José). This movement, denominated Movimento da Santa Cruz (Movement of Holy Cross), prohibited among other things drinking, smoking, and participating in fiests (traditional or not). Since most of the Indians were converted to the movement, they stopped performing this rite of passage. However, after a project of community development carried out by FUNAI and coordinated by an anthropologist, this feast was reestablished in 1976 (cf. Oliveira Filho, 1979).

Among the Tukuna sexual intercourse before the puberty ceremony is unthinkable, and with young women it is considered shameful. Only after this ceremony may a girl marry. Relations between a man and a women without knowledge of her parents is considered a grave offense. The parents always suggest to the man that he should marry, if they take

notice of the affair. Rape rarely occurs among the Tukuna, and when it does happen it is usually by a Brazilian. Marriage always results in exchange of women, as is suggested by Nimuendajú (1952) and Oliveira (1964). Oliveira mentions that such a principle of exchange of women may be a clue of weakness in the clan system. This is because the clans are extremely modified as corporate, residential, or compromise unities. Also, the contact with segments of the larger society, which has caused dispersion of the Tukuna population throughout igarapés and banks of the Solimões River, has resulted in numberless fragmentations of clans (cf. Oliveira, 1964:75-76).

The levirate was considered desirable among the Tukuna, although polygamous marriage was illicit, and cases or sororate have been observed among them. There is a tendency toward matrilocality since the wife's parents maintain their authority over their daughter and do not permit her to be taken far away by her husband. The father's authority over his family is strong, but is shared with the mother and grandmother especially in relation to the daughters. A neighborhood is made up of individuals generally related to each other through kinship ties, and they share their necessities and likewise distribute any surplus among themselves, always in the most intimate sociability (Nimuendajú, 1952).

In his monograph on the Tukuna, Nimuendajú (1952) affirmed categorically that they do not have any overall political organization. It seems he was referring to the lack of an internal institutionalized structure of power, since Nimuendajú himself wrote that,

> . . . what they [the Tukuna] did have until not too remote times were chiefs of local groups inhabiting the various igarapés tributary to the Solimões. These heads of large families possessed magical powers, intelligence, and ability to deal with strangers, especially civilizados. Owing to those

> qualities, they gained a limited ascendency over fellow members of the group who would approach them with their problems in search of aid and advice. In spite of this, they had no right to punish or coerce anyone who balked at their admonities. (1952:64-65)

They were called te'/ti, and were later transformed into tuxauas or "capitães" (capitains), whose authority was controlled by the whites--landlords and even the SPI. Nimuendajú's statement makes it clear that leadership and authority were not non-existent; only that the leaders were not formalized as a source of central power within the tribal political structure as a whole. They did not have only limited formal power and area of action, but were an outcome of a historical process in which the dominant society shaped an internal source of power in order to take advantage of it. Even the capitão, whose power was formalized and extended by the SPI, had no real power beyond his immediate community.

Oliveira (1964) and, more explicitly, Oliveira Filho (1977) disagree with Nimuendajú's statement on complete lack of political organization among the Tukuna. According to Oliveira, if there was no formal political organization among them this fact has not impeded the existence of continuous dispute for power. This struggle has been clearly demonstrated through the fissions not only within large kindreds but even among clans. Moreover, the supposed absence of formal political structure in the past, that is before contact, was modified by interference of the dominant society. It institutionalized a new political dimension that, although alien to the Tukuna, has survived until now. And it is through this that the national society has maintained its control--and economic exploitation--over the Indians. Within this new structure of power, indigenous leaders have been utilized as agents to

connect their own society and the ruling one. And so, the tuxaus and capitãos have been transformed into instruments of alien interests (cf. Nimuendajú, 1952:64-65; Oliveira, 1964:84-91; Oliveira Filho, 1977).

In accordance with Oliveira's assertation, Oliveira Filho (1977) assumes that two kinds of leadership order the Tukuna's political life: the capitao and the head of neighboring groups. The former, as was previously said, is chosen by the non-Indians. On the reservation, this choice is made by the head of the Indian Post who indicates the candidate to the tribe. Also, he organizes the meeting with the village dwellers in which the capitao is supposed to be elected by his peers. Although the elections seem to allow a free choice through consensual tribal will, actually they are manipulated by the employer who selects an Indian in his confidence. In general, the capitao is in charge of transmitting and executing orders, proposals, and prohibitions emanated from this authority (or other governmental ones). Thus, he is an official channel of communication and pressure between his peers and the outside dominant world. The head of the neighboring group is not chosen by non-Indians, nor is there any explicit rule of succession or ceremony involving his selections. His function is both to represent his group before any authority--capitão, head of the Indian Post, missionary--and to organize economic, religious, or any other communal activity involving those people under his leadership. His source of authority rests upon his skill in acting in accordance with the group consensus. In contrast to the capitão, who is a mediator between the Tukuna and the outside world, a head of neighboring groups fulfills his job working for his own group and within the village boundaries.

In the 1970's a new political order was installed among the Tukuna. It grew from the formation of factions based upon different religious affinities. The Indian village was divided between the partisans of the Movimento da Santa Cruz and the Catholics. Because of its strict rules of behavior, such as those prohibiting any kind of alcoholic consumption and feasting, the Movement of the Holy Cross was clearly supported by the head of the Indian Post. Since the Indians were considered trouble-makers, for they liked to get drunk and to fight among themselves, the Movement best complied with the Post head's wish to have tame Indians. By supporting the faction that identified with the Movement, the Indian Post made it dominant over the others. The Catholic Indians, which composed another faction, were put aside from any benefit that could be offered by the Indian Post. This factionalism in village life has dominated internal political affairs, and despite some changes, it continues today (cf. Oliveira Filho, 1977, 1979).

Religion

Since the first moment of the contact the Tukuna's system of beliefs has been disturbed by Christian elements. Their conversion to Christianity was initiated by the Carmelites and the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. Today this is an ongoing process carried out by Catholic and Protestant priests, as well as through the recent revitalization Movement of the Holy Cross. Together they have deeply affected the native religion to such an extent that a great deal of it has been lost. Likewise, the Tukuna's insertion into other spheres of Brazilian society has increased their religious disorganization. Also, periodic outbursts of messianic movements among them has intensified religious

disorder. Nevertheless, many of the indigenous aboriginal beliefs and practices are still alive, and apparently allowing the Indians to express their ethnicity as well as acting as relief valves for their many losses and humiliations.

The Tukuna conceive of two mythical worlds: the upper and the lower worlds. The former is divided into two or perhpas three parts. One of them is inhabited by Indian-like men who live differently from those who are still alive. The second section is inhabited by the goddess Tae and the soul of those who had been good during their terrestrial life. Tae is an outstanding person in this upper world by reason of her connection with the judgment against those who commit incest, infanticide, and murder by witchcraft, which are considered by the Tukuna as the worst kinds of sins. The third section, according to Nimuendaju (1952), seems to be the home of the kind voltures. There is almost no concrete information on this world for those beings who inhabit it can never return to earth to tell their condition in it. Also, it is impossible for a living person, including shamans, to enter into this kind of heaven.

The underworld is populated by demons which might be grouped in many clans. They are mortal, but many of them are superior or very dangerous to men. Sometimes their appearance is represented by certain masks in the Tukuna's rite of puberty. The great majority of these demons live in subterranean lands and subaquatic regions. Their anger may be placated by the shamans through the infusion of tobacco drink through the nostrils (Nimuendaju, 1952). The principal enemy of them is the culture hero Dyai, the most outstanding personage in the Tukuna mythology. He is creator of humanity, and establisher of all Tukuna

laws and customs. However, the Tukuna are so overwhelmed by the effects of the inter-ethnic contact that they often get stunned before the value of their own mythic hero. Oliveira (1964) points out their perplexity on the actual power of their cultural hero; Dyai "is our government," they say, categorizing him according to alien values. Dyai's power can be challenged by Tupã; a mythical Tupian entity that has been identified with the Christian God by the missionaries in order to make Indian conversion easier, whatever their linguistic affiliation or socio-cultural background (cf. Metraux, 1979).

Shamanism is an important institution among the Tukuna. Since they believe that all kinds of problems of life, such as disease, bad luck, or epidemics are caused by evil spirits, the shamans, who are intermediaries between common people and the supernatural world, perform an important role within the society. As the shamans have powers to help or harm others, they may be accused of killing someone. In this case a shaman may also be killed by the dead person's relatives. Nimuendajú (1952) had suggested that some early chiefs or local groups, in addition to other qualities, had magical powers through which they acquired ascendence over their peers. Nevertheless, it does not appear that control and manipulation of the supernatural are sufficient to guarantee social and political power over a village. Thus, the shamans who retain such magical powers have no prominence in the political realm.

Messianic movements have been a constant among the Tukuna. Nimuendajú (1952) recorded some of them and argued that they were based on four main features of Tukuna religion: (1) the personality of Dyai, the creator and founder of tribal culture; (2) the feeling of having offended him by corruption of the primitive spiritual (not material!)

culture owing to influences of civilization; (3) the possibility of the repetition of the cataclysms of ancient times; and (4) the existence of the immortals and their tendency to appear to persons at the age of puberty (1952:137). Although he had suggested they are caused by contact, Nimuendajú limited his explanation to the religious sphere. Other authors (Queiroz, 1963; Oliveira, 1964; Oliveira Filho, 1977, 1979) see not only this movement as resulting from their religious predisposition, but from socio-economic conditions as well. Oliveira claims that these millenarian outbreaks express a desire for Tukuna liberation from their white oppressors. But, he adds, it is not a Christian salvation,

> Concerning . . . the physical salvation of a population in the most extreme nutritional misery and the most negative psychological state, so much that the aim of the movements is always the destruction of the whites and the survival of the Tukuna, in a life of plenty and of peace. (1964:91)

Brief History of Contact

The Tukuna have been in contact with segments of the white population since the second half of the seventeenth century. Throughout this long peroid of interaction they have lived through distinct historical situations (cf. Oliveira Filho, 1977). However, such changes in the history of contact have not meant deep changes in patterns of interaction for the ethnic relationship has retained an immutable pattern: subordination to the whites' needs and wills. Even "protection," whether enforced by the government or not, meant simply submission to an alien political force, as it is sharply recognized by Wagley and Harris (1967:245) in relation to the pacification process.

According to Nimuendajú, "The Tukuna tribe has not been prominent in the history of the Amazon region" (1958:8). However, if they have

not played an important role in the history of the Amazon colonization, certainly the process of economic expropriation and political and cultural oppression have severely modified their society and culture. Their history before contact is not clear. Nimuendajú (1958) suggested that due to fear of their traditional enemies, the Omagua, the Tukuna lived far from the rivers which were also the main routes for European penetration. This isolation from the focus of contact should have saved them from the worst first moments of Amazon colonization. For instance, the Omagua, who inhabited the banks and islands of the Solimões, were swept away from the riverine area. They were probably catechized by Jesuits and Carmelites between 1683 and 1772 (cf. Oliveira Filho, 1977: 16-17). By this time they were lumped together with other tribal groups into mission-villages. At the mission, in addition to religious obligations, they were required to work for their own subsistence as well as the priests by gathering drogas do sertão, which were very important to the mission's economy. In their restrainment, the Indians were supervised by the missionaries in residence and had their behavior and beliefs controlled by an Indian headman, the principal, chosen by the missionaries (Boxer, 1973). Also, their relationship with outsiders was mediated and regulated by the priests.

In 1755 the missions were secularized, all power over the Indians being transferred from the religious orders to civil jurisdiction. Two years later the Directorio de Indios, was created whose activities and abuses I have mentioned earlier. During this period the missions were transformed into villages in which new colonists were settled. Through the Directorio, the Indians were recruited by white colonists to work in activities such as agriculture, cattle raising, and domestic services.

In addition, the Indians continued to collect drogas do sertão for which they still constituted the main source of labor. By this time most of them lived near the villages in permanent contact with their non-Indian dwellers. Concerning the Tukuna, Oliveira Filho (1977) states that part of their population also inhabited areas on the margins of the larger settlements. This induced, he adds, to be said that all these settlements were occupied by the Tukuna. Regarding the political and economic condition of these Indians, the same author assumes that they were subordinate to the director dos indios' authority. Also, because of the reduced amount of black slaves, the bulk of servile work was accomplished by indigenous labor force. Even so, the Tukuna continued to combine these services with their regular subsistence activities.

The complete economic break-down for the Tukuna came with the rise of the rubber trade by the mid-nineteenth century. By this time the Tukuna had completely lost their self-sufficiency due to being forced into the regional economy while being forbidden to farm and fish. Their lands were divided among the various "proprietors" of the rubber stands and they were moved from one place to another wherever their labor was needed (Oliveira Filho, 1977). Oliveira sums up this period of increasing oppression:

> . . . throughout the period of profitable activity of the rubber collection, the Tukuna were not permitted to maintain subsistence garden plots. Previously such gardens had supplied their basic staple, manioc, and the flour which was made from it, which was usually eaten with fish. In addition, fishing was not permitted since no food-producing activity was tolerated by the companies. This would have freed the Indians from their dependence on the company trading posts and likewise would have diminished the effort devoted to latex collection. (1974:122)

Another facet of the problem was that the Indians and other rubber

collectors had to sell their products exclusively to the company with which they were engaged. Not being permitted to produce their own food nor being permitted to sell the latex to another buyer, the Tukuna were completely dependent upon the barracão (trading post).

Through the barracão the traders retained control over the prices of each product sold or bought by the Indians, since it was the only place in which those who lived on the company's lands were allowed to trade. Such a control was invariably obtained by violent means. For instance, Emilio Moran speaking about the rubber baron stresses that,

> He guaranteed the production and exclusive rights of the rubber [by extension, any marketable product] through the force of hired men (capangas), who regularly patrolled the rivulets to make sure that the collectors sold only to the tradepost and not to maverick traders. Exclusive sale to the patron was also ensured by the collectors' constant debts at the trading post. (1981:65).

This system of credit used by the patrões (patrons), called aviamento, encouraged indebtedness and maintained the workers in a state of dependence. Also, money was not used in trade since all exchanges were of raw products for goods. In this manner the system of credit together with barter maintained the servitude, since the prices of merchandise sold at the trading post were invariably higher than the prices paid for the products brought by the collectors--Indians or non-Indians. In summary, this system meant perpetual debt and, therefore, perpetual servility to the patrons. On the other hand, the manipulation of the value of each item of merchandise assured double profit to the patrons and the very maintenance of the companies (Oliveira, 1974).

After the rubber boom in the 1920's, the Tukuna returned to their early economic activities of farming and fishing. However, this did not mean liberation from white domination, nor was it a spontaneous return.

Although the Indians had gained relative autonomy for farming and fishing, this did not mean substantial change in predominant types of social relations existent in the region. The return to the previous livelihood was simply an outcome of the decline in rubber demand. In order to survive the crises the traders were forced to diversify their economic activities, then chiefly based on rubber extraction (Oliveira Filho, 1979). Therefore, the Tukuna were stimulated to produce according to their earlier patterns to satisfy the traders. Thus, if agriculture and fishing were once again permitted, and even encouraged, it was a consequence of the patrons' wills, dictated by their economic needs. The Tukuna's condition as underdogs remained unaltered; their production and labor continued to be controlled and expropriated by the landlords, and the serfdom set-up over the years continued little changed. Manioc flour, fish, animal skins, or any marketable item produced by them continued to be sold at the landlords' barracão, and were subject to all kinds of commercial mockery.

Gradual awareness of their exploitation by the landlords was brought about by the development of some towns like Benjamin Constant and Leticia. This afforded the Indians new opportunities for working and trading and stimulated the Tukuna to abandon the igarapés. Regarding this, it is important to point out that the Tukuna's economic and social relations with the whites had not been uniform, since there were Tukuna living on the flood plains under the direct protection of the Indian Post, others living near the towns, and still others living inland near the small streams. The first were more independent, while the latter two were entirely under the economic control of the rubber enterprises. Likewise, white society was not homogenous, being divided

into two classes--the rubber traders and the rubber collectors. However, for both, the Tukuna were seen as second class citizens, for their relationship was clearly marked by derogatory ethnic feelings. In face of this dichotomy, ethnic opposition persisted more vigorously in the igarapés, while at the edge of the big river the confrontation seemed to be transforming into class struggle, obliterating ethnic opposition (Oliveira, 1964).

Today many Tukuna families are living on the riverbanks of the Solimoes. There they are less exposed to the debt-peonage relationship and can obtain better prices for their products. Also, they are free from barter. Speaking on this matter, Oliveira (1964) stresses the important role played by money in the process of flight from the igarapés. This author suggests that the Indians insertion into a market economy in which the value of marketable goods is represented by a given kind of currency has led them to understand the advantage of using money instead of exchanging goods for goods. Having money enables them to acquire goods other than those sold at the barracão, and to understand the value of exchange for different goods. The pressure to obtain money has been so accentuated among the Tukuna that it has led some companies to change their traditional form of trading with them.

Another factor which has strongly encouraged indigenous desertion of the patrons' lands is the Indian Post. The Indian Post was established in that region at the beginning of the 1940's. Before the post was built, the Servico de Protecão aos Indios was represented by an inspector settled in Tabatinga. Later, the Indian Post was installed at the farm Umariaou, donated to the SPI by a widow of its previous owner. Since it was first created, the Indian Post has basically functioned as

a mediator between the Tukuna and the whites, confining its role to more of an agency of protection than that of assistance. Notwithstanding the limitations of its aims, the Indian Post has interferred with the landlords' interests, raising protests and requests for its extinction. Oliveira sums up the problem:

> The Ticunas Indigenous Post, he says, acted in the region as a delegate for Indians. And a delegate in the policial sense of the term. All of the accusations and claims came to the knowledge of the Post were guided in one form or another, with success or not, always . . . troubling the abettors of conflicts with the Indians or their supporters, the large landholders. (1964:111)

In view of the outside pressures supporting its action in defense of the Tukuna settled in the reservation, the Post entered into an unspoken agreement with the landowners. The agreement was that the Post's influence would be limited to those Indians dwelling in Umariacu and the adjacent areas. Thus, the Post renounced its right to intervene in questions involving the rest of Tukuna's population. This effectively limited the official protection given the Indians (Oliveira Filho, 1979). Also, in face of the landlords' political power, the Post sought to work in connection with an army platoon established in that region. This joint effort often helped the Post perform on behalf of the Indians. It seems this association has been useful to the Indians, as we will see below.

We should note that the presence of an agency of protection has not been sufficient in itself to radically modify the prevalent indigenous socio-economic situation. If it has been protective, it has not been efficient enough to create reliable conditions of integration. Nevertheless, its presence has offered a niche in which the Indians can take shelter against the ruling class exploitation. Thus, despite its

weakness, it has served as a sanctuary to the Tukuna. Attesting to this statement we have some figures: by the 1950's, 510 Tukuna lived within the reservation, while less than two decades later this amount increased to 1,117 individuals (Oliveira, 1978). Also, we should take into account that the migratory movements toward the reservation have not only been limited to individuals or nuclear families. Some religious-oriented movements have led Tukuna groups to establish residence within the reserve area (Oliveira Filho, 1977; Queiroz, 1963). The Indian Post is not only a sanctuary. This is especially true now since a school has been established on the indigenous territory, attracting many more Indians. In this specific case, the Tukuna have seen the school as a means of improving their skill in speaking Portuguese, a very useful tool to face the white world (Oliveira, 1978).

In the 1960's the army platoon was structurally modified and changed into the Comando de Fronteiras do Solimões (Frontier Comand of the Solimões) or CF-SOL. Since the region was considered a national security area, the CF-SOL was modernized and enlarged. The Command post also took military and political control over the area of the Solimões. Due to this reformulation, the local political elite was replaced by more skilled bureaucrats, in general coming from other parts of the country. For instance, the mayors, formally elected, came to be designated and certain managerial affairs that were conducted by the mayor came to be managed by the army commander. Thus, local power declined permitting some conflicts involving the Indians and the patrons to be decided by the CF-SOL commander. In most of the cases the problem was solved in favor of the Indians. Oliveira Filho (1979) assumes this has changed the relationship between the Indians and the ruling class,

since the former feels their "indianess" has strengthened due to such decisions. Moreover, the Tukuna realized that all lands along the Solimões belonged to the army. This meant that the landlords had no more right to the land than the poor peasants and the Indians. Through this realization the Indians were able to rationalize the new situation in which the barracões were losing their power of coercion (Oliveira Filho, 1979).

Nevertheless, this was not the coup of grace for the early socio-economic system of relations. Due to the set of transformations the landowners sought to create new means of control over the Indians. They found an ideal solution through the Movement of Holy Cross.

Since the Movement induced lifestyles and personal commitments compatible with the pragmatic interest of the patrons--such as hard working, dependable employees with moderate lifestyles--it was welcomed and supported by them. Thus, many patrons entered into the Movement. Due to their wealth and prestige, they often gained superior position within the Movement's hierarchy, which they manipulated to the benefit of themselves. Also, the landowners constructed churches near their barracões where they could practically confiscate the indigenous production, which was resold for lucrative prices. On the other hand, in converting to the new faith they came to be seen by the Tukuna not as "patrons" but as "irmãos" (brothers), the term used to those who follow the Irmandade da Santa Cruz'(Holy Cross Brotherhood) commandments. This mode of address supposedly gave raise to a more balanced relationship between the Indians and the whites since it replaced the deprecia tory term caboclo which denoted an inferior status. All "irmãos" were

supposed to be equal before the commandments, which proclaimed mutual respect and good will (Oliveir Filho, 1977).

Nevertheless, introduction of the religious movement did not mean the disappearance of the social relation of subordination/superordination. At best it was mildly altered (Oliveira Filho, 1979). Since the Indians continued to live in an agglomeration within the patrons' lands, attached by the Movement, it was easy to maintain the previous regime. Their daily life was tied to the barracão, and the regatões constitute only an alternative for trading. The patrons maintained themselves as the basic sellers and buyers. By retaining their monopoly they could force the Indians to buy and sell with them since the Indians lived on their land. The debt system also remained as an effective device to bind the Tukuna to the landowners. In this context the only aspect really eradicated was corporal punishment, which was replaced by threat of imprisonment. In fact, this kind of threat was not a privilege of the landowners alone since it has often been used by the Indian Post's employees as well. Oliveira Filho (1979) says the Post's employees try to justify the imprisonment as a method of impeding alcoholism among the Tukuna. However, the same author adds that the prohibition is extended to all traditional indigenous beverages, showing not an excess of zeal by a confused administration. Regarding this, it should be said that the administration performed by the heads of Tukuna's Indian Post has in general been authoritarian and ambiguous in its aims (cf. Oliveira, 1964, 1978; Oliveira Filho, 1977, 1979). Such a characteristic seems to be nothing but a reflex of the national Indian policy.

Summarizing the Post's action, Oliveira Filho (1979) stresses three negatively prevailing characteristics: (1) lack of power and financial resources have led the Post to act as a dependent agency, working in accordance with other local authorities without a design other than to impose white patterns and values over the Indians; (2) support of the Movement of Holy Cross as a means for "domesticating" the Tukuna, inciting internal religious factionalism; and (3) lack of economic and social aims which strengthens the patrons' power as well as reducing the influence of indigenous leadership. If this model did not demolish most of the positive effects of Indian policy in that region, it at least caused grave problems. For instance, because of internecine political struggle between the Catholics and the partisans of the Holy Cross, the Post had no power to help the reservation Indian population as a whole. Those against the Movement simply had to go away from the Post, or if they stayed in the reservation were alienated from power. Therefore, the support given to the Movement by the Post helped to create a critical fission among those Tukuna living on the reservation.

By 1974-75 a project of participant intervention was established in order to redefine the Indian policy in the Tukuna's region. This program was sponsored by FUNAI and coordinated by an anthropologist who had a lot of experience with these Indians (Oliveira Filho, 1979). The project attempted not only to modify the prevalent situation within the reservation, but also to install a new Indian Post. By the end of the project some changes had occured, such as (a) an end to the manipulation of indigenous leadership and beliefs whereby the Post sought to control the Indian behavior; (b) the Tukuna themselves started to make their own decisions on matters of their own interest; and (c) those Indians who

lived away because they were Catholic, were encouraged to draw close to the Post again for the overall support of the Movement was extinguished.

The new Indian Post was established at Vendaval, the previous core of the Tukuna territory. In that area the oppression of the Indians had remained practically unaltered. The patron, who together with his family dominated all territory, held the Indians in a pure debt-peonage system. They could not buy or sell any product that did not pass through the trading post, and were even prohibited from visiting Umariacu where the Indian Post is located. Needless to say, the patron sought to hinder the establishment of the new Post by all means. However, it was established and received total Indian cooperation. By participating in all phases of the enterprise those Indians restored their self-respect. This was seen as an example for all other Tukuna, an objective searched for and reached by the group in charge of the project. Also, since the first moment the head of the new Post sought to not commit the same error common to other governmental agents, that of being an official "patron" manipulating the Indian leadership according to his own interests. Therefore, not only was the indigenous socio-economic situation improved, but their decision-making autonomy was returned. How long the effects of this intervention will persist depends on various factors, chiefly FUNAI's effectiveness in the area. Joao Pacheco de Oliveira Filho, the anthropologist who coordinated the project, thinks that a regression would not be easy, for it will occur only by negatively effecting indigenous interests and certainty that the Indians will react against this.

CHAPTER IV
THE MUNDURUCU OF NORTHWESTERN BRAZIL

The Mundurucu Indians live on the upper Tapajos River, a southern tributary of the Amazon River in the state of Para. More precisely, Robert Murphy states that they inhabit,

> . . . a region east of the Tapajos River between 6° and 7½° S lat. Other members of the tribe, now largely assimilated in the rural Brazilian population of the Amazon Valley, live north and west of this region on the lower reaches of the Tapajos River and on the Maue-Assu, Secundury, and Abacaxis Rivers; the latter three are tributaries of a channel of the Madeira River. (1978:7)

Their traditional habitat, comprised a region of mixed grassy savannah and gallery forest. Explaining the reason whereby the Mundurucu occupied this niche, the same author suggests they chose open country for their villages to prevent suprise attacks from their enemies. Absence of dense forest gave more protection to them. This strategic function is not surprising since they were the most warlike tribe in that region. Robert Murphy sums up vividly this important Mundurucu socio-cultural characteristic:

> . . . the Mundurucu Indians enjoyed a reputation for unalloyed, untempered savagery until the turn of the century. Their war parties ranged outward almost every year, striking indiscriminately at tribes anywhere within a radius of 500 miles, burning the villages, kidnapping children, and taking heads of adults as trophies of their exploits. They did not indulge in cannibalism, as so many of their neighbors, but the terror they inspired was so grate that they themselves were seldom preyed upon and eaten. (1978:1)

Although they were feared by other tribes, they did not neglect their

own defense. Also, being settled far from the river banks meant further relief from the insects that infest the riverine areas.

These Indians are generally calssified as a Tupian speaking group. However, the language spoken by the Mundurucu is not "mutually intelligible with the so-called classical Tupian of the Brazilian litoral," says Murphy (1958:1). Furthermore, he adds that other cultural characteristics indicate not only discontinutiy but a certain historical independence between the Mundurucu and those Tupian people who inhabited the coastal fringe.

By the time of Murphy's field work in 1952-53 the Mundurucu population was about 1,250 individuals, most of them living in forested country on the banks of larger streams. This tendency resulted from their insertion into the rubber market, for to live at the edge of the rivers meant better access to the native rubber trees. Their population showed considerable decline in relation to the past. This same author estimates a population of 5,000 Mundurucu in the mid-nineteenth century based in 25 villages having an average of 200 inhabitants each. In the nineteenth century, the bulk of Mundurucu population seems to have lived on the savana but in the twentieth century the population seems to have been drawn by trade to the rivers. The population in 1952-53 was distributed in three different areas: 360 lived in savannah villages, 700 resided along the Cururu River in contact with the SPI and a Franciscan mission, and 200 were dwelling in the midst of Brazilians near the Tapajos River and tributary streams. Since they lived closely with the Brazilian caboclos, the last group constituted the most acculturated of the Mundurucu people. The residents of Cururu River and the savannah

were in more intense interaction with each other and their culture was better preserved.

The savannah people were distributed in seven villages, while the inhabitants of the Cururu River could be divided among those living in the mission and the Indian Post, and those distributed in 11 settlements "ranging in size from hamlets of two or three houses . . . to the largest settlement . . . with 11 houses" (Murphy, 1978:165). The more acculturated Mundurucu is the Tapajos River-occupied houses adjacent to the store and house of a Brazilian trader or isolated on the banks of the river. Such people were in closer contact with Brazilian national culture and more dependent upon the regional economy.

Economy

The Mundurucu had a tropical forest culture, and their subsistence was based on slash-and-burn agriculture. This pattern has been changed as a product of their integration into the national society, chiefly in relation to those Indians who live on the river banks. Even those in the villages on the savannahs, depended on resources of forest and rivers for their subsistence. Thereupon, Murphy (1978) considers the Mundurucu "as essentially forest dwellers." Other subsistence-seeking activities among them were hunting, fishing, and gathering, but indubitably hunting and gardening were the principal sources for food supply.

Bitter manioc was their staple food, which they ate as farinha (flour) or beiju (type of flat cake). Also, along with rubber manioc flour was their main product for trading with the whites. Other vegetables planted by them are sweet manioc, yam, maize, beans, squash, pineapple, and pepper. Other plants such as banana, potato, rice, and

sugar cane had been adopted and were used by the Mundurucu. Their horticulture was carried out according to the well known slash-and-burn method, and involved extensively cooperative work, particularly during the phase of clearing the gardens.

Hunting was the main masculine activity, and game is their most prized food. The Mundurucu hunted wild pig, tapir, caititu, paca, and various kinds of deer, monkeys, and birds. Prior to the contact they hunted exclusively with bows and arrows. In the 1950's some of them used firearms. Usage of shotgun modified their pattern of collective hunting, for a man equipped with a firearm can hunt alone. However, Murphy points out that firearms still were scarce and, therefore, collective hunts remained relatively frequent, and functioned as a factor of cohesion in village life.

Fishing was less important than hunting in Mundurucu subsistence. Various factors concurred to make this so: chiefly the location of the villages. Traditionally, they were settled inland, at some distance from the rivers, and thus fishing was a seasonal and secondary occupation. Moreover, the lack of canoes among the Mundurucu left them poorly prepared for fishing in larger streams. However, after their move to the river banks, a large part of the population came to rely primarily upon fish as a source of protein, changing their early pattern of subsistence. Gathering of wild products was the least important activity for their economy. As Murphy points out, "it is often done incidentally to hunting, fishing, and trips to the gardens" (1978:59).

The Mundurucu division of labor was based on sexual differences, and the labor itself was organized on a cooperative basis. This pattern of cooperation, however, was divided by gender. The tendency was for

each sex to perform its own collective tasks. The men undertook the heaviest tasks such as clearing gardens and hunting. Men made their weapons, tools, or other personal objects. Gardening, cooking, processing manioc, child rearing, weaving, and making pottery were feminine chores. There are no specialists among the women; each woman is supposed to carry out any task peculiar to her gender. Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only specialized occupations among the men. Nevertheless, Murphy declares although such occupations were "hereditary, [they were] done without reimbursement and without releasing the individual from production" (1978:66).

Collective work as well as reciprocity were important features of the Mundurucu society. In general, the men hunt collectively, and the women help each other in performing their daily tasks. Murphy summarizes the benefits generated by their patterns of collectiveness and reciprocity, which permitted a socio-economic fairness.

> Nobody goes without food among the Mundurucu Indians. . . . An unfortunate group whose garden failed will be supported by the entire community. Kills of large game animals are distributed throughout the village. This is a form of risk sharing, for a man might be unlucky in hunting for weeks, yet eat meat almost every night. If a man wants an arrow or some other object belonging to another man, he will usually be given it, with the tacit understanding that a similar claim can be made in return. (1979:124)

This pattern of reciprocity, stronger among fellow clan members, together with emphasis on cooperation avoided competition; and so eliminated a potential source of conflict. Also, contributing to this socio-economic equilibrium was the belief that no one had natural resources and land. Gardens were held only by usufruct rights, and the land was considered as a common tribal domain. Although the products of gardening, hunting, or fishing were property of the person who owned

the garden or killed the animal, the system of redistribution through the members of his/her or another household made meaningless any sense of property.

Among the Mundurucu some objects of personal use were considered private property. However, even these objects--such as arrows, beads, baskets, or knives--may be given to a persistent requestor or freely loaned. Murphy (1978) adds that the only productive resource owned by a Mundurucu was his rubber trail. Regarding inheritance, Murphy adds that it was non-existent, since any personal possessions were destroyed upon death. Garden lands were abandoned after a period of two years, and the villages and their houses were abandoned each decade. Land and houses maintained only a temporary value, that is, while they were being effectively utilized. Soil depletion and plentifulness of land were the causes for their frequent move, looking for new sites for their gardens. However, relocation of the villages every 10 years took place whether garden land was scarce or not. Certainly convenient distance to the gardens was an important factor for each move.

The insertion of the Mundurucu into a market-oriented economy provoked a gradual change in their socio-economic structure. Their growing commercial intercourse with the whites was a consequence of their desire to obtain Western goods. Also, the colonial economy, primarily oriented to extractivism, concurred to attract them to trading. The economic aims during the Colonial Period did not encourage the colonist to undertake agriculture. Instead it encouraged them to trade with the Indians for foodstuffs. Thus, the Mandurucu dependence upon manufactured goods increased as they participated in the regional economy; this situation led them to restructure their internal socio-economic organizations.

These alterations, at first, comprised enlargement of the feminine groups of work, emphasis on the women economic role, and consolidation and reinforcement of tribal chieftaincy. This stage was characterized by the passage from patrilocality to matrilocality as a result of the development of their production of manioc flour for trade purposes, since production of manioc flour was women's work. It was groups of women (mothers and daughters; sisters and female cousins) who cooperated in the work. Thus, women remained with their female kin and grooms moved to join their wives' family when in the past the contrary had been the case (Murphy, 1958). Also, because of contact with Brazilians the tribal authority embodied in their chiefs was consolidated and the chiefs' prerogatives were enlarged. The chiefs came to accumulate warfare leadership with coordination of tribal productivity, and redistribution of goods acquired by trade. During this phase the Mundurucu reached certain equilibrium. They still maintained their warlike character and the rubber trade had not yet begun. Even when it did begin the savannah dwellers were not involved in rubber-tapping which allowed them to preserve most of their native traditions.

Further participation of the Mundurucu male in the regional economy as rubber-tappers accelerated the process of disorganization of their native society and economy. The equilibrium was broken down. As rubber gatherers the Mundurucu could neither maintain the extended family nor their cooperative work patterns for the very nature of rubber-tapping is incompatible with both. Thus, they were fragmented into nuclear families. Clans which were traditionally patrilocal and patrilineal were already weakened by the change in their rules of residence. They became more extensively damaged due to fragmentation and dispersion of

its members. Moreover, the chiefs gradually lost their prestige, not only due to growing atomization of the extended family, but for the appointment of the chief by the Brazilian traders. The traders began to appoint "chiefs" of their confidence. Through these chiefs, called capitães (captains) to distinguish them from the hereditary village chief, the trader strengthened his control over the village. The dual chieftaincy caused confusion among the Indians and conflict of power. Murphy stresses that, "by robbing the hereditary chiefs of their trade function, they [the traders] weakened the entire structure of leadership. In time, the capitao displaced the hereditary chief almost entirely" (Murphy and STeward, 1974:248).

These capitães began to be objects of suspicion among their fellow tribesmen who also distrusted the traders. Since the capitães were nothing but puppets in the traders' hands, they were usually blamed for the traders' dishonest commercial practices. The sequel was a gradual shifting from using chiefs as intermediators to direct trade with the traders, which also contributed to the extended family automization. This trend came to be higher after the installation of the Catholic mission and Indian Post. Although these agencies sought to preserve the chieftains, the process of direct trade and the loss of the chieftans authority were already irreversible. It was among those Indians who migrated from the savannahs and settled on the riverbanks that individual trade, individualized subsistence, and loss of native tradition was most intense.

Society

As stated above, aboriginal Mundurucu society was patrilineal and patrilocal. There were more than 40 patrilinear clans, grouped into phratries, and those in turn were grouped into two exogamous moieties. At the time of Robert and Yolands Murphy's field work, in 1952 and 1953, patrilocality had given away to a a matrilocal rule of residence; the moities, names Red and White, were reduced to 16 and 22 clans, respectively, and the clans had lost their territorial basis and most of their original prerogatives. Even Mundurucu population was divided between those dwelling in the savannahs and those inhabiting the reaches of the rivers. The effects of outside influences had profoundly modified their society and culture.

Among the Mundurucu each clan had an ancestral spirit from whom it borrowed its name. Murphy affirms that clan "members do not observe any relationship with animal, plant, fish, or bird for which their descent group is named, nor do they recognize any personal affiliation with these objects" (1978:3). It means that, although bearing eponymous names, the clans did not present complete totemic characteristics. However, Murphy adds that the name of each clan suggests they were previously localized in residence instead of dispersed as they were in 1952-53. This seems to be an indication of the early phase of patrilocality, when the clanic groups had territorial basis. Since membership was inherited through the paternal line there was no dispersion of the males. Through daily interaction their members could strengthen clanic ties and prerogatives. Over time, the clans have lost many of their social functions. In 1953-54, only a few of these functions

remained. Among the remaining prerogatives is the right to bury individuals of certain clans of the opposite moiety. Also clanic affiliation was still known by the system of giving name. Each Mundurucu bears a name consisting of his/her clan name and a given name suffixed. The possession of such a name is a sine qua non condition for social membership in the clan. An offspring of a mixed marriage (Brazilian father and Indian mother) is considered a marginal person to the society. Such a child is unable to inherit from the father his/her clanic affiliation, and thereupon is not qualified to be a Mundurucu. On this matter, Murphy claims that "clanship continues to bestow a social identity on its members and to establish their inclusion as 'people' or Mundurucu. In this sense, it is an important mechanism in the maintenance of social boundaries between the Mundurucu and their Brazilian neighbors" (1978:83).

Another factor suggested by Murphy as maintaining Mundurucu ethnicity is the locus of some of their villages: the savannahs. He stresses that, "it is strongly felt that the proper place for a 'true' Mundurucu village is this locale" (1978:97). "Residence beyond this hartland, he adds, is tantamount to becoming a pariwat, or 'outlander'" (Murphy, 1978:98). He suggests the land embodied strong symbolic meaning. It established a clear frontier between them and the outer world. Living apart from the savannahs means that a Mundurucu is in danger of turning into a foreigner. For the Mundurucu savannah villages, notwithstanding the social and economic changes, preserved most of their native tradition.

Six of the savannah villages still maintain their men's house. It is an important institution within the village, since it lodges

post-pubescent males and constitutes the center of their activities. Murphy stresses its importance by saying that

> It serves as an informal forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. (1978:105)

The men's house marks male/female dichotomy, a distinguishing characteristic of Mundurucu society (cf. Murphy and Murphy, 1974). Only rarely did a woman enter the men's house and when she did it was for a short time. Her domain was the household where she lived together with the other women and pre-pubescent males. The men's house is the place in which are maintained the sacred trumpets. In the past, these instruments performed more important functions than in 1952-53. Previously, they were used for worshipping the spirits of the clan ancestors, who still were believed to live inside the trumpets, for protecting the village from supernatural harm, and as symbols of masculine superiority and sexual opposition (Murphy and Murphy, 1974).

In 1952-53 the sacred trumpets functioned mainly to maintain the traditional sexual roles. The women were forbidden to see them. In relation to the clans, the sacred trumpets had in 1952-53 an anomalous situation. The trumpets traditionally were considered to belong to the patri-clan of the man who made them. As a consequence of the new rule of matri-local residence, the trumpets remained behind in his natal village. Thus, a man may live in one village and the sacred ritual trumpets are stored in another. The cult of the ancestral spirits shifted from the clan to the village in which the trumpets are found, and in doing so, much of the ritual meaning was lost.

Mundurucu political life is organized around few social roles: elderly men, house leaders, shamans, and chiefs. Indubitably, the outstanding position in the village is occupied by the chiefs. The chieftaincy was inherited in the paternal line. So as to not disturb the lineal continuity of the chieftaincy, the son of the chief was exempt from the rules of matrilocality. This office involved duties like leadership in war parties (in the past), representing the village in trade or other affairs with Brazilians, and to be an active voice in decision-making involving the village as a whole. Notwithstanding his importance, the chief is not authoritarian lacking the power of coercion. Formerly, the chieftaincy was reinforced by the traders, who made use of the chiefs as mediators of manioc flour commerce and as redistributors of Western goods. It should be pointed out that it was not always traders, but individuals appointed as "captains" by the traders themselves. Thus, in addition to the role of war leaders, traditional Mundurucu chiefs controlled indigenous production for trade and the flux of goods bartered. In time, the legitimate lines of succession were broken by the traders, initiating the decline of the chieftaincy. The end of warfare added to the decline of the power of chieftans. Furthermore, with the interference of the mission and Indian Post the office of chief is further weakened. Yet, as Murphy stresses, "the chieftaincy continues to symbolize the identity of the village" (1978: 125).

Religion

Traditionally, the shamans have performed an outstanding role within Mundurucu society. Due to their ability to manipulate the

supernatural world, they have constituted a bridge between the spiritual and the real, and between nature and society. Only the powerful shamans are able to travel to the "Land of the game" to "feed" the animal spirits who are protectors of the game and the most important supernaturals of Mundurucu mythology. Murphy (1958) holds that such a power was extremely important to the Mundurucu since their economic well-being was believed to depend upon the propitiation of these supernaturals. Since an important part of their subsistence was formerly based on hunting, the propitiatory rituals offered to the spirit mothers of the game, and performed by the shamans, constituted significant accomplishment. Because of the shamans, the Mundurucu could hunt abundant game.

Also, since disease among the Mundurucu was, in general, thought to be caused by sorcery, the shaman, as medicine-men, were able to diagnose and to cure illnesses. So, they were in constant demand and people lived in strong dependence upon them. Like the chiefs, the condition of being a shaman was inherited through the paternal line. Thus, the office does not result from extraordinary talent, but lies within the domain of kinship. Murphy points out that a shaman "usually receives tutelage in the art from his elders, but even if he is uninstructed and never engages in actual practice, he is still considered a shaman and capable of special relations with the supernatural" (1978:135).

If a shaman has power to heal or to be the vehicle for propitiating economic well-being, he was also able to harm people. Hence, since illness is believed to be provoked through supernatural means, the shamans could be blamed as its provoking agents. Therefore, despite their prestigeful rank within Mundurucu society, shamans could be accused and executed for sorcery. Murphy (1958) interprets these executions as a

social reaction to a situation of stress and to punish alleged deviant behavior. Through the execution of a sorcerer, it is possibe to eliminate individuals whose conduct is thought to be deviant in relation to the social norms. As Mundurucu social structure demands harmony and cooperation, the suspected deviant constituted a source of disharmony and of social disturbance. Still Murphy adds that the execution of a sorcerer may increase internal tension even though it is a social sanctioned act and an escape valve. Thus, he states that "socery and execution will undoubtedly continue even after the larger social units of extended family and village have become completely fragmented", and adds that although "the priests of the Cururu River have inveighed against belief in sorcery for more than 40 years" it continues as alive as before (1958:49).

By 1952-53, the number of shamans had decreased. Murphy ascribes this fact to various factors such as the killing of sorcerers, migration to Cururu River, and decreased population due to imported disease. Another factor has been the influence of national society weakening Mundurucu self-esteem. Thus, the shamans were thought to have lost large parts of their power and knowledge. Nothing was vested with the same early vigor of the past . . . the men are not as strong, the women as beautiful, or the shamans as powerful.

Mundurucu religion has been characterized by its close relationship between society and the animal world. The relationship between these two realms had its expression in their various internal coherence and vitality as a society and a culture but guaranteed their own physical survival. Taking of trophy heads, for instance, was said to propitiate the game spirits promoting game animals fertility and making them

vulnerable for hunting. In turn, the war, the main goal of which was the taking of trophy heads, constituted a factor of tribal cohesiveness. Thus, social life and nature were harmonically joined.

The Mundurucu spiritual world was inhabited by many mythological creatures who may often be beneficial or harmful, depending on the manner whereby they are treated by the human beings. Among them the most important are the so-called spirit mothers of the game animal. These spirits are protectors of animals and only through their benevolence is it possible to have a successful hunt. Therefore, they "must be continually propitiated to maintain the well-being of the community" (Murphy, 1958:14). To important ceremonies were held in order to propitiate these spirits: the Araiarai and the Djearuparip. Both were performed during the rainy season. The former was held throughout the rainy season, while the latter lasted only 10 days. "In both", says Mruphy, "the game animals were honored and their spirit protectors summoned and offered a food particularly pleasing to them" (1978:133). And so the Mundurucu were guaranteed successful hunting trips. On the other hand, each promoting village invited dwellers of other villages, obviously including the shamans who are the main actors in these rituals, to participate in the ceremonials. Thus, the game-animal festivals were both significant to Mundurucu livelihood and important to their social cohesion.

Such festivals no longer were held in 1952-53. The Araiarai disappeared in the early 1930's, the Dajearuparip lasted until about 1945. Headhunting ended in 1912. The disappearance of these ceremonials and headhunting expeditions reflect deep changes in Mundurucu economy and society as a result of their gradual integration into the regional

economy and their increasing need for Western goods. Also, depopulation through migration and death by imported diseases has made it more difficult to carry out ceremonials. For instance, the savannah groups are today reduced to one-fourth of their aboriginal population, and the isolated and dispersed nuclear families settled on Cururu River are in no condition to carry out village ceremonials. The shamans, key individuals in such ceremonials, are fewer in number and those remaining do not have their past power. In short, as the Murphy's say, "the end of much of Mundurucu ceremonialism indeed removed the occasion for ritual congregation of the people and undercut social solidarity, but it also broke the conceptual links between hunting, warfare, man, and nature that gave Mundurucu culture its internal coherence and vitality" (1974:82). In 1952-53 their rituals were reduced to those regarding their ancestral spirits and the men's house, both heavily modified by changes in Mundurucu rules of residence. "Aspects of beliefs and practice that promoted and affirmed the well-being and values of the society at large and which were best staged by a unified social group have disappeared. What remains are essentially practices that are defensive against prevailing fears and anxieties and which are highly individualistic in practice" (Murphy, 1978:137).

It is important to note that the changes which occurred in Mundurucu religion basically resulted from changes in other aspects of their culture. Such changes have not been the consequences of missionization (Murphy, 1958). The religious influence of the missionaries was not decisive since their attempted proselytizing took place only after social and economic changes already had occurred.

Perhaps their economic interference was more influential to change Mundurucu religion than their effort to Christianize the Indians.

Brief History of Contact

Unlike the Tukuna on the upper Amazon, the Mundurucu played an important role in the history of the central Amazon Valley. Due to their warlike behavior, they were feared by other regional tribes and even respected by the colonists. By the middle of the eighteenth century they made their appearance in the regional history. It was characterized by a succession of attacks that they launched against other native groups and on Portuguese settlements. Their aggressiveness led them to attack colonial settlements as far away as the state of Maranhão, some 599 miles distant from their original territory (Murphy, 1978). These frequent raids against the Portuguese resulted in a victorious punitive expedition in 1795 launched by the governor of Pará. This expedition ended the hostilities and made them enter into peaceful relationship with the Portuguese.

During the first half of the nineteenth century peace was maintained between the Mundurucu and the colonists. Also, they retained their cultural stability due to the type of relationship established between these societies. Instead of bringing the Mundurucu into immediate peonage, as was common in relation to other tribes, the Portuguese sought to turn them into allies. At first a superordinate/subordinate relationship was not established between the Mundurucu and the colonists. There was a kind of symbiosis in which each society sought to respect the other. The Mundurucu were used as mercenary warriors by the colonists to rid the region of hostile tribes. In turn,

they received Western goods in payment for their service. It is true that the goods were an important motif for their increasing dependence on the white society. However, it is also true that their engagement as warriors prolonged their social cohesion. War was a crucial activity for their social cohesion and ideological stability. Moreover, warfare provided the commodities they needed without necessity to turn into peonage.

Describing the characteristics and effects of such a relationship, Murphy states that

> Mundurucu cooperation with the whites set a pattern of friendship and mutual respect. The Indians were valuable to the whites, and the latter did not take any action that would disturb the symbiotic relationship. Similarly, the natives relied on the Brazilians for trade goods, and restricted their military activities . . . to tribes that were not yet pacified. And in no case did they war upon the whites. When the great rubber boom arrived, the Mundurucu were gradually and peacefully recruited into the labor force, in contrast to the experience of other tribes, and the ease of the transition is no doubt partly attributed to the ties of economic dependence and friendship which had become established. (1978:38)

In addition, it should be noted that exploitation of natural resources by Brazilians came late to the core of Mundurucu territory. And this fact contributed to their isolation from a wave of frontiersmen, and consequent permanent settlements on their lands. However attracted by Western goods, many Indians migrated toward the riverbanks where they could trade manioc flour and other forest products with white traders and missionaries. In general, the trade with the whites was prejudicial to the Indians, who were always exploited.

After 1850 those Mundurucu settled on the region of the lower Madeira and Tapajos were gradually integrated into the local white society. Also, the traditional products used for trading began to be

replaced by rubber, which implied that some Indians became involved with the extraction of this product. Decades later, a Salesian mission was established in that territory. The priest sought to protect the Indians from the traders by acting as a go-between in trade. However, due to pressures from the rubber traders, he was dismissed and the mission abandoned. About the same time, with the rubber boom, an increasing number of trading posts were established on the upper Tapajos River and its tributaries. And, the lands of the upper Tapajos were occupied "through grants by the state or purchase from it, or by simple squatters rights perpetuated by force and registry on the tax rolls" (Murphy, 1978:41).

Due to the new local socio-economic structure set up by the exploitation of rubber, the Mundurucu became involved into a patron-client relationship. Many of them were utilized for domestic services in a regime of servitude, while others moved with their patrons to work in different regions, or still others remained tapping rubber all year round. Unlikely, the Mundurucu who lived in the savannah and who in general collected rubber for only short periods, those who lived on the Cururu River devoted themselves full time to rubber collection. The dependency on the Brazilian traders increased as they neglected their gardens and had little time to hunt. Those in the savannah villages maintained their social integration partially preserved because of a balanced distribution of time between rubber-tapping and traditional subsistence activities. Nevertheless, their political organization suffered from interference from outside; the manipulation of their chiefs in behalf of the white traders. The chiefs, whose main function was tied to warfare, were turned into economic middlemen. They not only

were led to exhort their people to increase their production, but became responsible for redistributing the goods. Through the chiefs the traders gained influence and power over the Indians, "they began to appoint their own 'chiefs,' frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance" (Murphy, 1978:42). And this became a source of conflict, damaging the internal pattern of authority.

Throughout the late nineenth century up to the beginning of the twientieth, the migration from the savannah to the riverbanks continued. Those who followed this path came to be little by little absorbed into the regional society. Only those who remained in the savannahs maintained the core of their socio-cultural organization alive. Most of the hostile tribes had been pacified reducing the demand for Mundurucu military service. Now, they were more important to the traders as a labor force. The rubber demand had reached its highest point during this period, and so the rubber collector was more useful than the warrior. Thus, even the dwellers of the savannahs became involved in the rubber collection.

"By 1912-1914," says Murphy, "depopulation, the demands of the rubber economy, scarcity of nearby hostile Indian tribes, and mission influence had combined to end warfare" (1978:44). The end of warfare implied in loss of their warlike impetus and the common practice of hunting human heads, both fundamental to tribal ethos. This period coincides with the end of the rubber boom in the Brazilian Amazon and almost at once transformed rubber collection into a secondary economic activity. By then the Mundurucu were already dependent on Western goods and so most of them continued tapping rubber, even at low prices; for it was the only means for acquiring the commodities they needed.

In 1911 a Franciscan mission was founded on the Cururu River. It was built on the edge of the gallery forest, bordering the savannahs. The Franciscans, two priests and three nuns, came to catechize the Indians. In 1918 this mission was transferred to the riverbanks due to the problem of communication and shortage of agricultural land. The Franciscan policy was to maintain a permanent and self-sustaining mission. Also, they sought to replace the traders who continued to exploit the Mundurucu. It was their goal to offer better conditions of trading with the Indians. Although the mission had not initially attracted many Indians, by the end of the 1920's, when the price of rubber rose again, the situation shifted greatly. In order to buy goods and to sell rubber and manioc flour, many Indians entered into contact with the mission. The Indians perceived very early the advantages of trading with the priests rather than the traders and the mission came practically to be a trading post. Thereupon, many more Indians left the savannahs establishing permanent residence along the Cururu River. This tendency to move to the edge of the river was so accentuated that by 1950 the riverine Indian population far outnumbered that living inland.

In 1942 the 2nd Regional Inspectorate of the SPI of Pará installed an Indian Post among the Mundurucu. The Post was settled inside a Mundurucu village located on the left bank of the Cururu River, a tributary of the Tapajos. This Indian Post became the seat of the Ajudancia (a branch of the Inspectorate with larger range of authority than a Post) which had in fact been formed earlier in 1940 in the region of the Tapajos River.

Studying the activities and policies of the Indian Post among the Mundurucu, the anthropologist Expedito Arnaud (1974) points out that the

Inspectorate through its agencies sought to defend the Indians' interests in accordance with instructions originating in the SPI headquarters in Rio de Janeiro. These instructions were related to the development of the indigenous communities, stressing the need to exploit natural resources of the reservation for assuring economic emancipation of the tribes. Also, they included fiscalization of the missions acting among the Indians, their economic relation with the Indians, situation of indigenous lands, and the like. Application of these norms often faced obstacles and presented deficiencies. "Consequently," Arnaud writes, "as in the past the [Indian] groups already in contact with 'Civilizados' [Brazilians] or who were attracted into contact continue to be prisoned in their territories, depopulated by epidemic and armed attacks, losing their traditional characteristics without being conducted into a harmonic integration with national society" (1974:24-25, translation my own).

Notwithstanding obstacles and its deficiency, the Inspectorate was active enough from 1941 to 1956 to legalize six reservations, to put behind bars some murderers of Indians and to annul the mandate of some missionaries whose work among the Indians was less than satisfactory (Arnaud, 1974). Needless to say, such activity raised problems with missionaries, state authorities, and rubber stand owners. Within this climate of challenge and contradictions the Indian Post began its operations to protect the Mundurucu.

From 1942 to 1956 the Cururu Post was managed by a capable but paternalistic and authoritarian employee. Perhaps he sincerely sought to help the Indians, but he did nothing to ready them for autonomy and self-leadership. Hence, as soon as he left the Post, it fell into

decline and the Indians came to be as exploited as before. Thus, his accomplishment was based on individual paternalism rather than an overall Indian policy. Furthermore, the extension of the Mundurucu territory made it difficult to protect and administrate all of the Mundurucu population. For instance, if the Indian Post's activities were in some aspects beneficial to the Cururu indigenous population, they were not so effective in terms of the savannah Indians (Murphy, 1978). However, as long as this officer headed the Indian Post, the income generated from internal resources and indigenous work was applied on behalf of the Indians and the Post itself. This constituted a perennial source of animosity between SPI and the Post. Retention of indigenous income at its point of origin meant going against a policy of the SPI, regardless of how well the income was applied. According to SPI policy, the funds should be transferred to SPI and then channeled to other reservations or to finance administrative and technical services in other reservations (cf. Oliveira, 1978). In time this became the main complaint and the reason to dismiss this employee from the Post. His dismissal, however, also coincided with changes in the direction of SPI, where individuals more interested in politics and bureaucracy replaced those who still maintained certain principles inherited from Rondon (Arnaud, 1974; Ribeiro, 1977).

In general terms, the Indian Post, as the mission tried to monopolize commerce with the Indians and Brazilians in an effort to impede their overt exploitation. Also, the Post sought to impede non-Indian penetration into the reservation territory as well as established contact with other Mundurucu villages spread throughout the savannahs. But the Indian Post was not able to effectively control the Indians'

rubber production, nor to fiscalize their trade with the Brazilian traders who had monopoly over the savannah indigenous production of rubber. The Post had more success in controlling the trade between casual traders and Mundurucu on the Cururu River. The failure of protection in the savannah, as stated earlier, was for lack of material means and the size of the Mundurucu territory. However, the activities of the SPI may have helped the Mundurucu in the process of accomodation to regional culture without strong trauma (Murphy, 1978).

The relationship between the Indian Post and mission was often hostile, and characterized by overt competition for the control over the Mundurucu. After various clashes, it seems these two agencies entered into formal agreement on their respective areas of economic influency over the Indians. According to Murphy, "The spheres of mission and Post influence intersect[ed] in the village of Morro, halfway between the two, and the villagers trade with either"(1978:163). Nevertheless, the Post was in disadvantage since the bulk of the Mundurucu settled on the Cururu River live upstream at the mission (Arnaud, 1974). Moreover, the missionaries enjoyed more sympathy from the Indians than the agent of the Indian Post. Hence, the volume of trade between the Mundurucu and mission was always superior to that with the governmental agency. On the other hand, the Post was never able to efficiently fiscalize the relationship between Indians and missionaries due to the prestige of the missionaries with the federal government. In a sense, a governmental agency entrusted with indigenous protection was emasculated by the very government.

Both the Post and the mission have contributed strongly to the process of Mundurucu socio-cultural maladjustment. For instance,

according to Murphy and Steward (1974) the intervention of these two agencies of western culture have helped to strop the chiefs of their political authority. Since the Cururu indigenous inhabitants began to trade individually, first with the mission and afterwards with the Post, the role of the chiefs within the tribe was reduced to a mere intermediary between missionaries, Indian Post and other Indians. They lost both their control over indigenous production and the power to redistribute goods acquired by trade, both extremely important to their prestige and authority.

The missionaries have also contributed to deepening the separation between the Indians settled on the Cururu River and the savanna people. The factionalism has resulted from the integration of most river Mundurucu into the regional economy, their abandonment of their villages inland and rupture of the early social ties because of the rubber gathering. Factionalism between river and savanna Mundurucu has been fed by those interested in attracting those Mundurucu who persist in living in the savannahs into the orbit of regional society. The Cururu River Indians lost their respect for, and interest in, the traditional culture and came to treat the campineiros (those who live on the savanna) with scorn, calling them lazy and dirty (Murphy, 1978). Many of the stereotypes whereby the riverine Mundurucu ridicule those who live in the savannahs were inspired by the missionaries. In this way the priests expect the campineiros will "abandon their native practices and accept missionary instructions" (Murphy, 1978:47). However, until the early 1970's this policy had not been successful. More effective were the material advantages that the mission would offer.

The savannah Mundurucu dwellers, in turn, call those Indians who are settled on the edge of the Cururu River "foreigners"--for their way of life is no longer Mundurucu, although they still were ethnically Mundurucu. Murphy (1978) defines these opposing feelings as by-products of two distinct realities resulting from the contact. The use of negative sterotypes by the riverine Indians may reflect a sense of inferiority in relation to the campineiro Indians, since they still preserve much of their traditional cultural knowledge. In turn, the savannah Mundurucu are only puzzled by their riverine peers behavior. They cannot understand why the Mundurucu settled on the river are so indifferent and try to humiliate them. Indeed, the dichotomy between campineiro between riverine Indians goes on, and many Mundurucu residents on the Tapajos are ashamed of their indigenous condition which they try to hide (Burkhalter, 1979-81:2). Also, this shame to be Indian may be associated with economic problems. It seems the Brazilian caboclos are considered more trustworthy workers than Indians, and so manipulating one's ethnic affiliation can help in finding employment (Barkhalter, 1979-81).

The relationship between the Indian Post and the company which traditionally monopolized Mundurucu rubber production was not less hostile than that with the missionaries. Since the main reason for installing the Indian Post in that region was to provide better conditions of life for the Mundurucu, obviously the outcome could not have been different. Thus, commercial competition and political conflicts were the keynote in the relationship between the Indian agency and the traders.

To cope with Mundurucu exploitation by regional society, the Indian Post came to act as an economic enterprise--a rather paternalistic company, at least during the first years of its operation. The trade between the Post and the Indians was made on a somewhat different basis from the usual in the Amazon, although the barter-credity system prevailed. In this aspect the Post was not distinct from the mission, for both sought to lure the Indians by offering favorable trading conditions. The pattern of commerce utilized by the Indian Post was to sell goods to the Mundurucu at lower prices than other traders (except the missionaries) as well as to buy their products, such as rubber and manioc flour, at better prices than those offered outside of the reservation. On the other hand, the Post could offer additional advantages such as health facilities and school, facilities also found at the mission.

The loss of monopoly in the commerce with the Mundurucu led the trading company to criticise the Post bitterly, including through the press. The Post and the head Indian officer were accused of unfair competition, since the SPI was free of tax. The criticism grew when the Indian agency started to buy and sell to non-Indians rubber gathers of the region whom the commercial company had abandoned due to its poor financial situation. Thus, the Post was accused of trading with old customers of the comapny and of being detrimental to its commercial interests. Henceforth the Post should be treated as a "fearful competitor," according to one letter sent to Inspectorate by the commercial company (Arnaud, 1974:37). Although the Sub-Regional Office (Ajudancia) refuted these accusations, the pressures against the Post continued.

The company did not give up on its efforts to eliminate the Indian Post as a competitor.

On the other hand, the Post's entrepreneural role began to be opposed within the SPI itself, but it continued its commercial functions. In time, however, the clashes of interests and different opinions within the SPI provoked the collapse of the Post. Also,

> . . . beginning in 1956, noticeable changes began to take place in the [policy of] the SPI which as a political institution under the influence of the Brazilian Labor Party (Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro) began to be directed by people different from those of the old Rondon tradition. These changes were felt almost at once in the 2nd Inspectorate which established good relations with the rubber traders on the Xingú and Tapajos. As a result it became very inconvenient to maintain those officers [of the SPI] who were at odds with these [commercial] companies over armed violence between Indians and their extractive activities--or simply for motives of commercial competition. (Arnaud, 1974:12)

Therefore, both the chief of the Post and those employees who were not on good terms with the company were transferred to other places. New employees were put in charge, but their performance was, by neglect and dishonesty, completely disastrous. The Post's properties such as movables, livestock, and even buildings were neglected. Also, because of political factionlism within the SPI, Indian officers were summarily fired, and the Indians in general came to be ill-assisted. At one Indian Post in the general region, namely the Kayabi Post, even the force was used to exploit indigenous labor (cf. Arnaud, 1974:45-46). In consequence of these conditions, the Indians started to avoid both the governmental agency and its agents. Thus, the attempt to maintain the Post functioning was nothing but an illusion, and by 1964 it ceased its activities.

The fall of the Mundurucu Indian Post coincided with a new regional decline in rubber commerce. Thus, due to low prices for natural rubber the trading company ceased its economic activities on the Cururu River region. In this manner, of the three Western agencies which had been interacting with the Mundurucu only the mission survived. It continued to exercise its control over most of the Indians settled on the Cururu River, as well as to trade, to Christianize, and to Westernize them. More than ever, the mission "has been the more important agency of the introduction of Western culture," according to Murphy (1978:162).

Lacking commercial incentive in that region, those individuals engaged in rubber gathering had to look for another source of revenue. Thus, many Indians and non-Indians as well not only moved to other regions but shifted from rubber gathering to gold prospecting, to hunting for skins and other more lucrative activities. Most Mundurucu changed their economic pursuits, but it did not change their condition of maladjustment within the regional society. They continued to live exploited under a debt-peonage system. Arnaud (1974) stresses the forms of submission of the Mundurucu to the traders. For instance, the Indians tied to the storehouses as hunters and fishermen earned no wages and could be recruited by the patrons to render services to them at any time. Those Indians tied to the barracões, in turn, constituted a second class of rubber collector in constant debt to the trader. In both cases, due to the ethnic affiliation, they were considered inferior in relation to their Brazilian fellows. Thus, they constituted the scorn of the regional society.

In 1974, Arnaud wrote that FUNAI intended to reactivate the Mundurucu Post. In reality it took place somewhat later. Today the

Mundurucu population is assisted by three Indian Posts (Burkhalter, 1979-81). All services provided by the Indian service has been reactivated. But, it seems the main function of the Posts has been the mediation between the Mundurucu and regional society, chiefly in terms of trade. For instance, the regatoes are prohibited from operating within the reservation, and the Post's function as trading posts. The Franciscan mission continues to be the strongest rival of the Indian service over control of the Mundurucu. However, it seems the Indians themselves accept the mission with restrictions due to its interference on indigenous behavior mainly with regards to their matrimonial practices. In fact, the most important influence of the Franciscan is economic (Burkhalter, 1979-81). In relation to the past, at least in terms of intermediation, the situation of the Mundurucu is basically unchanged.

CHAPTER V
THE TENETEHARA OF MARANHÃO STATE

The Tupi-speaking Tenetehara lived in northern Brazil in the state of Maranhão and Pará. They are divided into two segments: The Tembé inhabitants of the region of the Gurupí, Capim, and Guamá Rivers; and the Guajajara who are scattered through the region of the Pindaré, Grajaú, and Mearim Rivers (Gomes, 1977).

Although they are commonly called Guajajara and Tembé, they call themselves Tenetehara. "By this name," wrote Wagley and Galvão, "they distinguish themselves from the Urubu (also Tupi-Guarani), the Timbira (Gê) and the Neo-Brazilians of the same region" (1948:137). Their population sums abour 4,300 individuals, which means that the Tenetehara constitute one of the largest Indian groups in Brazil. Hemming (1978) estimates an aboriginal population of about 12,000 Tenetehara. The Guajajara constitute the bulk of Tenetehara population, since the Tembe number less than 100 people (Gomes, 1977). It should be noted that in this dissertation I am considering only the Guajajara-Tenetehara among whom Wagley and Galvão and Gomes carried out their field work.

The Tenetehara have been protected by the Brazilian government--first through SPI and today by FUNAI--since 1918. At present, over 40 Tenetehara villages are settled within five reservations and are assisted by eight Indian Posts. Notwithstanding this situation, today they are facing a crucial problem--because of the growing demand for land in their region, these reservations have been invaded by squatters

(posseiros) and illegally claimed by landed interests who wish to install large agro-pastoral projects in the area. In fact, disputes over land have constituted the main problem which has plagued the Tenetehara in recent years.

By virtue of the long contact with the larger society, Tenetehara society and culture have been considerably modified. Nevertheless, the core of their culture--language, customs, and ideology--has persisted permitting their continuity as an ethnic unit distinct from Brazilian society (including Brazilian peasant society with which they share the danger of land expropriation). Nor does it appear they will completely lose their ethnic identity at any time in the foreseeable future.

Economy

The tenetehara have traditionally lived in the tropical rain forest environment. The forests of Maranhão state are rich in hard woods and palms, which have historically constituted important sources of revenue both for regional population and the Indians. The regional climate is tropical, warm and moist. It is divided into two well defined seasons: rainy season, from January to April, during which the rivers and smaller streams overflow their banks flooding riverine areas and thus limiting the areas of gardent to the uplands; and the dry season, from May to November, during which the agricultural cycle is initiated with clearing and burning.

Although the population is sparse in the region, serious conflicts regarding land have been the keynote in the relationship between Indians and Brazilians. Wagley and Galvão, writing in 1949, suggested such conflicts are related to the agricultural techniques used by both

Brazilians and Indians (1969:32). This slash-and-burn technique calls for large extensions of land and for periodic moves from one place to another in search of fresh and appropriated sites for the gardens. Abandoned garden site is considered inferior for agriculture until the forest has grown again (a period of 10 to 15 years). Under this system both Indians and peasant farmers needed new lands each year. Today land conflict is not only a result of the system of cultivation. There has been a flux of new non-Indian farmers into the region, and the Indian population has grown. And, furthermore, large ranchers are anxious to dislodge both Indian and peasant from the land to establish agro-business operations.

Traditionally the Tenetehara raised a large variety of crops such as maize, peppers, yams, tobacco, cotton, and manioc. Soon after contact with Europeans, they borrowed rice, sugar cane, bananas, papaya, and other vegetables. However, their staple crop is manioc. This crop is cultivated both in its poisonous and sweet varieties. At the time of Wagley's and Galvão's research, rice already was an important crop, although it was not cultivated for subsistence but as a cash crop. Maize at one time was almost as important as manioc but is now in decline. Tobacco and marijuana (Cannabis indicus) were cultivated mainly for use in their curing ceremonies. Cultivation of marijuana (which they received from escaped African slaves) has raised problems for the Tenetehara since its usage is forbidden by Brazilian law. The cultivation and use of marijuana is seen as a controversial matter by the Indian Service. Some officers think the Tenetehara should be allowed to continue to cultivate this plant since this is now an

integral part of their culture. Others propose that the use of marijuana must be prohibited (Gomes, 1977).

Hunting and fishing were complementary to agriculture to Tenetehara subsistence. Wagley and Galvão (1969) stress that certain game such as deer, wild pork, and peccary were hunted not only for subsistence but also for their skins to be sold to Brazilian traders. By 1942 although many Tenetehara men still used bows and arrows, they preferred to hunt with firearms. Previously, hunting was a collective activity and its product held communally. Presently communal hunting is generally realized only for the girl's initiation rites and the meat is turned over to the family who sponsored the ceremonials. Even when collective hunting was carried out for subsistence needs the meat was not a group property but belonged to whomever killed the animals (Wagley and Galvão, 1969). Fishing also came to be a task performed individually or by a nuclear family. However, under certain circumstances even today it can be undertaken collectively. This happens in the case of fishing by poison in the pools which involves cooperative work of a extended family.

Gathering of honey and wild fruits is a seasonal and occasional task. The same cannot be said of the collection of babassú nuts and copaiba oil. Babassú nuts produce an oil of considerable industrial importance, and its preparation involves the work of an entire nuclear family including the children. Also, the copaiba tree produces an oil that has been used as an article of trade since the early nineteenth century by the Tenetahara. In addition, some Tenetehara men undertake the felling and marketing of native hard wood trees. These products are sold or bartered for manufactured goods and constitute a source of income for many Tenetehara families. Through the commercialization of

of them the Tenetehara have been integrated into a market economy and exposed to its vagaries (Wagley and Galvão, 1969).

However, it is not only through the extraction and sale ob babassu nuts, copaiba oil, or lumber that the tenetehara have become involved in the market economy. They also trade agricultural products such as manioc and rice, and recently they have become involved in the sale of handicraft objects such as bows and arrows, necklaces, and the like. Such "indian objects" as a source of income was a result of the increasing tourist demand for these items initiated in the early 1970's. At first the trade in Indian curios was mediated by FUNAI. Of late the Tenetehara themselves have sought higher prices than those offered by the Indian agency and developed a parallel marketing system. Searching for better prices, the Tenetehara have travelled as far as Rio de Janeiro and Brasilia to sell their curios. During the boom in "Indian art" a few Tenetehara acted as entrepreneurs commissioning their peers to make "Indian objects" which they would sell in the cities where the items would bring higher prices. These entrepreneurs were suffessful for a time, but due to the collapse of the handicraft boom, limited entrepreneural experience, and the ideology of egalitarianism which permeates Tenetehara society, they soon went out of business (Gomes, 1977).

According to Gomes, as a result of the contact with the larger society, the Tenetehara economic system "is forced by the two structures which are in a dialectical relationship to one another" (1977:174). There is the economic structure that governs the internal Tenetehara socio-economic form of production and distribution as against the trade economic structure which results from their socio-economic relationship with the Brazilians. The first is what one may call traditional

Tenetehara mode of production in which the units of production and consumption would be one and the same. The form of distribution emphasizes reciprocity among production units in accordance with a tribal ideology of equal access to tribal resources and production of goods. This egalitarian characteristic constitutes the basic difference between traditional Tenetehara economic structure and that of both the peasant economy and the larger society which engulfs the Indians. However, the economic structure of trade "plays the most important role in determining the mechanisms of the internal economy and, consequently, the Tenetehara system as a whole" (Gomes, 1977:174).

The Tenetehara trade conomy has functioned in conformity with two patterns. One is based on production of agricultural goods, and the other on the extraction of forest products such as babassu nuts, copaiba oil, and lumber. Gomes states that

> The agricultural trade economy, by virtue of the fact that it rises directly from the internal economy as surplus production brings forth the internal development of Tenetehara society as self-sufficient in food production. The extractive trade economy, however, rises from the labor power extended to areas outside the production of food and, thus, makes at least part of the Tenetehara village indpendent upon the Brazilian for acquisition of food. (1977:197)

Both forms of economic articulation with the external economy have influenced the traditional Tenetehara mode of production, affecting their society and culture. However, by the virtue of being an extension of the internal economy, the trade economy based on agriculture seems to be less detrimental for the Tenetehara than the extracive trade economy. Trade in agricultural products stimulates Tenetehara production for internal consumption and, thus, helps their autonomy. Also, it functions as a centripetal force nucleating rather than dispersing the

Tenetehara population unlike the trade oriented to extractive products.

Tenetehara work patterns have changed due to the inter-ethnic contact and as a result of entering the market economy. Formerly the Tenetehara labor was organized according to rigid rules of sexual division of labor. In agriculture, for example,

> . . . the men did the heavy work of clearing the garden and planting and harvesting the manioc. Women planted and harvested all other plants . . . and carried all these products, even the heavy manioc tubbers, from the gardens to the village on their shoulders in the carrying basket. A man seen doing such women's work would have been ashamed. (Wagley and Galvão, 1969:47)

In addition, women did the arduous and time consuming tasks of preparing manioc flour. Males had such tasks as village defence, making bows and arrows, canoes, building houses, and hunting and fishing.

When Wagley and Galvão were in residence among the Tenetehara various changes were already occurring in the division of labor. The rigid sexual division of labor was already relaxed. Both sexes could take on tasks previously performed exclusively by one of them; men cooperated with their wives in grating manioc tubers and preparing manioc flour, for example. These authors suggest this change could be imputed to two factors: increase in production of manioc to meet an external demand for manioc flour which required more effective masculine labor in all phases of the commercialization; and imitation of the Brazilians' (who were considered "superior") division of labor. In other words, the change was caused by the increasing integration of the Tenetehara into a market economy as well as by the deterioration of their self-image vis-a-vis the encompassing society

In Tenetehara society nobody can afford to be unproductive. Even the shamans, the only aboriginal specialist, have to plant their gardens and provide their own subsistence, irrespective of what they receive for their specialization. Pre-pubescent men are the exception to this rule; they are not expected to work with any regularity. But, young girls participate early in domestic chores. Laziness is a behavior socially disapproved among the Tenetehara. A lazy man or woman is not in general welcomed as a member of an extended family, nor is he or she able to receive the benefits of collective work.

Land ownership is an ambiguous matter among the Tenetehara. In the early 1940's each village had a territory with vague boundaries which, in general were defined according to the area actually exploited by the villagers. But, as Gomes writes, this

> reflects a situation in which land was abundant. . . . At the present, the Tenetehara, with exception of those living on the Gurupi reservation, do not have an over abundance of lands and they have become very aware of territorial boundaries. These boundaries are most clearly delimited in regard to distinction between Tenetehara and Brazilian lands. . . . Inside Tenetehara reservation lands, villages become more conscious of ownership of a certain territory than they were in the 1940's. Every village now claims control of areas for agriculture production and areas for communal hunting. . . . (1977:265-266)

Thus, although still preserving their territorial limits according to usufruct rights, now the Tenetehara seek more firmly to maintain control over the land. And, this implies more awareness of boundaries and reaction against invasion.

Village territory belongs to the villagers as a whole, but within the village there is a sense of usufruct rights. Thus, when an individual is cultivating a given plot it belongs to him. After the harvest and the abandonment of the garden, the land can be used for anyone who

wants to plant. Communal gardens are considered property of the headman but any member of the extended family can enjoy the fruits of the harvest. With permission of the leader anyone may obtain foodstuffs from the gardens. The headman may also sell the produce to acquire Western goods for the group. If a group from another village wants to hunt in a village's territory they need the consent of the headman of that village.

Immovable goods, such as houses, are believed to be the property of the wife, although they were built by the man. The same is true for garden products, game, fish, and household equipment; they are female property. But, strong leaders may obliterate this sense of individual property. Since the leader of an extended family is the middleman and distributor of goods acquired through trade, he is thought of as the owner of these goods, even when they are fruits of collective effort. In turn, the leader may manipulate the redistribtuion of goods to maintain his position and prestige. At present some of these headmen act as entrepreneurs and expropriate their peers' labor. However, by virtue of internal mechanisms of control they have seldom accumulated little more than the average man.

Society

Wagley and Galvão state that

> . . . the Tenetehara are a "people" rather than a politically organized tribe or a nation. There is no tribal organization of any kind; each village is an independent political unity. The Tenetehara are united by a common language and by a common body of cultural tradition. (1969:15)

Thus, although they do not constitute a compact political unit, the Tenetehara are ideologically integrated according to a common ethnic and

cultural substratum. Their society and culture are different from that of surrounding Brazilian people, and they recognize themselves as ethnically distinct from the Brazilian backwoodsmen. Certainly the Tenetehara are still aware that "we [they] are the true people," which is the meaning of the name tenetehara (cf. Gomes, 1977:1).

Notwithstanding the lack of political unity, the Tenetehara maintain a close contact among neighboring villages through frequent visits and by inter-village marriages. Although Wagley and Galvao state the Tenetehara have limited, or sometimes no knowledge of other Tenetehara groups living beyond their immediate neighborhood, it is meaningful that as soon as people from distant communities are identified as Tenetehara they are received as friends--or as kinsmen. This strong sense of belonging to a same ethnic group, regardless of looseness of the political bounds, seems has been significant in their resistence to incorporate in Brazilian society during over 350 years. Furthermore due to the question of land, the different Tenetehara villages have reinforced their common ties which bind them even closer together (Gomes, 1977).

Due to the long period of contact, the physical plan of Tenetehara villages are very similar to Brazilian hamlets; that is, they are built in rows of houses like streets. They did not have traditional ceremonial houses. However, few Tenetehara families lived isolated from the village but, in general, people prefered to reside in the village. Ideally, each house was (and is) occupied by a nuclear family but other relatives generally also lived in the house. The residence rule is matrilocal. For one or two years after marriage the groom works for his father-in-law. Afterwards, he may build a house for his own family

near the wife's parent's house. There is no record of the multi-familial longhouse which was common among other Tupian tribes (Wagley and Galvão, 1969).

Polygamy was a preferred form of marriage, but today only a few men have two wives and monogamy is the rule. In the few polygynous families the wives are generally sisters and they share a house. Wagley and Galvão (1969) noticed that polygamy was already officially prohibited by the Indian Post at the time of their research.

Tenetehara system of descent and classifying kin is bilateral. According to Gomes (1977) this has facilitated their ethnic continuity, for bilaterality permits absorption of the offspring of a mixed ethnic marriage by the ethnic group regardless of the father's or mother's ethnic affiliation. Thus, whether the mother or the father is Tenetehara, the Tenetehara claim the child of an inter-ethnic union as their own. The extended family seems to be the fundamental unit of Tenetehara society. Wagley and Galvão indicate that this type of familial organization "is the basic unit of economic production and it survives when the single family breaks up, thus providing greater security for the individual" (1969:25). In terms of structure, they add that "the core of the Tenetehara extended family is made up of a group of related females, yet it is led by a male" (1969:25). By controlling females, the head of a large family is able to attract single males who after marriage come to work for the family. Also, if a headmen is prestigious enough he can attract single families strenthening his power. Thus, the size of an extended family rests on the capacity of its leader in alluring new members and in his ability to protect the group.

Since the Tenetehara are in growing commercial relationship with the Brazilians, good fluency in Portuguese and commercial astuteness, both crucial in dealing with the outer world, are valuable characteristics of a strong family leader. Wagley and Galvão state that

> . . . a successful family leader stimulates his people to produce surplus garden products, collect babassú, or copaiba oil, and markets these products for them in order to buy clothes, salt, arms, hardware, and other manufactured goods. (1962:29)

If he fulfills his role well, he will prosper and enlarge his extended family. However, if a leader loses his capacity of leadership and if an active substitute does not appear, his family group will merge into other better led extended families. Sometimes the headman can be appointed capitão of the village by the Indian Post, fortifying his leadership and increasing considerably his authority.

The capitão appointed by the Post serves as intermediary between his village and the agency. This office is not the creation of the Indian agency, but an old practice born during the colonial period. But, in fact, a capitão does not generally exercise strong authority and seldom are his orders accomplished. Those who really wield authority are the extended family leaders who may simultaneously hold the office of capitaẽs or shaman. But, even these strong men must discuss their orders with other leaders of extended families of their village. Thus, the actual authority in each village seems to rest more effectively on the two or three extended family headmen than on the captain appointed by the Indian Post.

Another personage who is still important in Tenetehara society is the shaman. By reason of his/her relationship with the supernatural world, the shaman deserves a special social niche. The shamans cure

illness, control the ghost during the Maize Feast, or overcome evil influences. But, also they can harm people by evil magic. So they are feared and may be killed if suspected of witchcraft. Unlike the Mundurucu shaman, the Tenetehara shaman does not inherit his/her special qualities but gains power through acquisition of knowledge. Wagley and Galvão pointed out that although they were told that both men and women may become shamans, they could not find a female shaman in any of the villages, in the Pindare region. However, Gomes (1977) confirms this information and adds that generally the women are not the main performers during shamanistic seances. Also Gomes (1977) records that Tenetehara shamanism in certain regions has changed considerably due to the influence of Black religion. This syncretic shamanism adopted such features as candles, sugar rum (cachaca), drum playing, and Afro-Brazilian songs.

Religion

Wagley and Galvão state that "in spite of more than 300 years of intermittent contact with Christian missionaries, the Tenetehara have retained most of their religious patterns" (1969:98). From this statement one can realize how the traditional Tentehara system of belief endured, despite massive alien religious interference. And, it seems this is a result of their own ability in fusing Christian dogma with Tenetehara religion. For instance, the concept of heaven has been equated with the native "Village of the Supernaturals," a mythological place where the souls of the shamans rest after death. The idea of the Christian God, in turn, has been equated in certain ways with their culture heroes who were creators of the mankind and all other things.

But, Tupan (God) does not interfere in their daily life. Difficulties such as illness, misfortune, or bad harvest are not solved through the mediation of the Christian God. Since they are thought to be caused by native supernaturals, the Tenetehara turn to their shamans to control these beings. Turning to their shamans to solve their spiritual and even mundane problems they have preserved the core of their mythic universe.

Some of the Tenetehara ceremonies are still being performed. The most important of them are the Honey Feast and the Maize Festival. Both have a sacred character and also function as tribal amusement. The former constitutes the high point of Tenetehara ceremonial life (Wagley and Galvão, 1969). The relaization of the Honey Feast assures success of hunting. Also, it has an important additional social function in strengthening inter-village connection. The sponsoring village invites people from other villages to participate in the feast allowing closer social interaction. The Honey Feast is marked by songs and dances. It takes place in the late dry season and lasts only a few days.

The Maize Festival is also tied to Tenetehara economic cycle. It is performed in order to guarantee the growth of the maize. This festival begins in January when the first sprouts appear, lasting until the maize harvest in March. It comprises songs and dances. The main actors of this festival are the shamans who exhibit their powers controlling the azang, the spirit owners of maize. Also, the rites of puberty are part of the Maize ceremonial. In the 1940's both festivals were seldom performed. Wagley and Galvão impute such neglect to the stress of economic conditions which did not allow the Indians sufficient time for the festivals. Today these ceremonies are in process or revitalization.

According to Mercio Gomes (1977) both the Honey Feast and the Maize Festival are performed annually by several villages. This anthropologist states that the renewal of these festivals is part of a general wave of recreating social symbols which preserve and strengthen Tenetehara ethnicity. The intensity of such revitalization can well be felt from the following Gomes' statement:

> . . . the ceremonies for the girls' initiation rites performed in the villages of Bacurizinho, Ipu, Anjico Torto, and Cururu were much more elaborated and traditional than they had been when Wagley and Galvao . . . visited the Tenetehara in the early 1940's. Twelve Tenetehara, led by the capitao of Anjico Torto had come from their village located as far away as 100 km in order to participate in one of these ceremonies performed in the village of Ipu. (1972:32)

Brief History of Contact

The history of the Tenetehara is an account of economic exploitation and socio-cultural influence exerted over them by Brazilian colonial and national societies. In this manner, it will be useful for my aims to draw upon the historical division employed by the anthropologist Mercio Gomes (1977) in his study of the Tenetehara. He divides Tenetehara ethno-history into four periods. Each of these periods comprises a particular form of Tenetehara-Brazilian inter-ethnic relations, is characterized by a distinct type of socio-economic interaction, and is motivated by different political goals on the part of the dominant society. Thus, according to this author, we have the following periods: (1) formation of inter-ethnic relations which is subdivided into (a) phase of slavery (1616-1653), and (b) phase of serfdom (1653-1755); (2) freedom and transition (1755-1840); (3) patron-client relationship and the provincial Indian policy (1840-1910); and (4) the Twentieth Century and the role of the SPI/FUNAI (1910-1975) (Gomes, 1977:57-58).

A first attempt to colonize Maranhão was made by the Portuguese in 1553. This effort, however, was not successful, and only during the second decade of the seventeenth century did a new attempt take place. This time, the Portuguese drove out the French, who had established a colony on the island of Sao Luiz in 1612. Two years later, the Portuguese took over the French settlement transforming São Luiz into an important center of colonization and Lusitanian expansion. As they were few in number, the Portuguese used indigenous labor forces to fulfill their economic needs, both for commerce and for subsistence. And, this compulsory use of the indigenous labor force started soon after they took over the region by defeating the French and their Tupinambá allies. Gomes suggests that it is not clear if the French used compulsorily Indian labor, but undoubtedly the Portuguese did at once.

The Indian population most exposed to Portuguese action were the Tupinambá, who inhabited the island of São Luiz which was the focus of the first colonial impact. The Tupinambá were relatively numerous and near at hand; thus, they were soon brought into slavery. Within the space of 120 years of contact, these Tupinambá were practically decimated or driven back into the interior. The Tenetehara, on the other hand, lived inland from the coast and constituted a far smaller population scattered among disperse villages. Thus, they managed to survive the first impact of Western civilization. According to Gomes (1977) there were two other factors in their survival. First, the Jesuits protected them against slaves raids; and second, their region was unsuitable in comparison with other areas for the system of plantation agriculture of the Portuguese colonists. This last point is very important and is emphasized by Gomes.

> Other Indian tribes of Maranhão suffered various degrees of population loss and cultural disintegration during the same period. Those who lived in areas of plantations, despite their ferocious resiliency at being "pacified," were progressively enslaved and/or missionized by the Jesuits. Tribes in other areas of Maranhão were left undisturbed until the latter half of the eighteenth century when the cattle frontier moving from Piaui and the agricultural frontier moving up along the Mearim and Itapecuru Rivers began to tax them for their land. (Gomes, 1977:66)

Thus, factors extraneous to their control alleviated the effects of the initial contact. In fact, throughout the history of Indian-Brazilian contacts, frontier advance and retreat has been an outstanding factor for Indian survival (cf. Kietzman, 1972).

In spite of their isolation and the unattractivesness of their territory to the colonists, the Tenetehara did not escape slave raids By the first decade of the eighteenth century, they were victims of such raids, and some of them were brought down to rivers to work as slaves on Portuguese plantations. According to Mercio Gomes, however, "these slave parties did not destroy the basis of subsistence of the Tenetehara" (1977:69), at least in their home villages. The rather small number of Tenetehara slaves were utilized both as domestic slaves, working in private homes, and as field hands working in the sugar and tobacco plantations. In both cases they worked under extremely stressing conditions, before they were required to perform routines incompatible with their habits and they generally worked under "foremen . . . who felt no particular sympathy to the well being of their charges" (Gomes, 1977:70). Such slaves did not live long since they were exposed periodically to lethal epidemics of imported diseases which often decimated entire groups. Under such conditions high mortality forced a constant need for recruiting new laborers. This implied in continual raids against tribal groups for the purpose of bringing new slaves for the plantation.

The phase of serfdom in Tenetehara-Brazilian relations began with the effective establishment of Jesuit control over the Tenetehara in 1653, and had its end with the decrees issued by the Marquis of Pombal in 1755, through which the Indians were declared free and their control by the missionaires was cancelled. During this period many tribal groups were brought down river and "reduced"; that is, confined within mission villages in order to be Christianized and to live under Jesuit rule. Among those groups missionized were numerous Tenetehara. They were brought down from their homeland, localized on the upper Pindaré River to the lower Pindaré region. There they were aldeados in different places. Due to several circumstances, some of these missions soon collapsed but others were successful. The most prosperous among all the missions was that of Murucu (the present town of Viana). Also, the Aldeia of São Francisco Xavier enjoyed a certain prosperity. Wagley and Galvão wrote that "these two strategically situated missions helped to protect the Tenetehara and their territory from the Portuguese encroachers until 1759, when the Jesuits were expelled from Brazil" (1969:7). These writers stress the importance of the Jesuit missions in reducing the impact of the inter-ethnic contact during the early Colonial Period.

Drawing upon Service (1971) and Boxer (1973), Gomes (1977) seeks to delineate Tenetehara life inside of the mission villages. He concludes that like other Indians missionized throughout the Brazil and Paraguay, the Tenetehara had to obey certain secular routines prescribed by the priests. The Indians were obligated to attend religious services each day. Their native ceremonials were replaced by Catholic ritual and folk dances of sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe. Women were taught new domestic arts such as wearing and sewing of cloth and men and boys

learned such crafts as carpentry and masonry. Catechism was communicated in lingua geral (general language), a form of Tupí reduced by the Jesuits to European script. Obviously the Tenetehara learned this new language with ease for their native tongue was of the Tupí family. On these missions a form of Jesuit culture appeared based on the missionaries idea of peasant life in Europe but containing many elements of aboriginal customs and behavior.

Gomes calls the missionized Indians relationship to the Jesuits "serfdom" because they were tied to priests by obligations to work "rather than as free individuals engaged in economic transactions" (1977:80). It is true that the Indians were supposed to receive wages but such payments were never paid in money but rather in commodities such as clothes and food. Legally the Indians were "free" because they had been missionized "spontaneously" and of their own accord. In addition to their own subsistence chores, they were obligated to support the priests and to build mission churches and other buildings. And, they were often used by the Jesuits in sugar cultivation or cattle raising--economic endeavors to support the order. The Jesuits did attempt to isolate and protect them against outright slavery; but by settling the Indians in mission villages within touch of colonists the Jesuits exposed them to Western diseases. As John Hemming puts it, the

> . . . Jesuits were intelligent enough to appreciate that the epidemics were probably imported by Europeans, and that they struck hardest at converts congregated in mission settlements. This did not deter them. Throughout two centuries of their presence in Brazil, they always filled empty settlements by luring more innocents into them. Some may have believed that it was better for Indians to be baptised but dead than heathen but alive and free. But it often seemed that what really mattered was pride in maintaining the mission system. The Jesuits became obsessed with their personal soul-count. (1978:145)

From time to time, missionized Indians traded with colonists but such contacts were alwyas controlled as far as possible by the priests. On these external contacts, Mercio Gomes concludes that after 100 years of interaction regulated by the Jesuits, the Tenetehara were not really prepared to become an active part within the national economy (1977: 80-81). On the other hand, to be missionized did not mean to be safe from slave raids. Sometimes the Jesuit mission villages were raided by colonists seeking slaves and because they had been turned into docile "serfs" the mission Indians were defenseless.

In 1755 two Royal decrees modified radically the relationship between Indians, missionaires, and colonists in Brazil. The first granted Indians complete freedom and was aimed at integrating them into the colonial society. The second decree abolished the temporal control by the Jesuits over the villages. This set of regulations also turned the mission villages into towns (vilas) and hamlets (lugares), depending on the number of people living in them. It provided incentives for inter-ethnic marriages. Thus, it was intended to force complete indiengous assimilation and to strengthen the Crown's political power in the colony which was allegedly threatened by the Jesuits. By 1759 the Jesuits were expelled from all Portuguese territory.

In consequence of these Royal legal measures, the Murucu mission acquired the status of a town (vila) which was called Viana, and a new town was created in another Tenetehara village--the village of Moncão. The mission of São Francisco Xavier, localized on the upper Pindaré River, was abolished. The Indians settled in Viana and Moncão became relatively integrated. On them, Gomes says that "clearly . . . the Tenetehara of these towns had become assimilated to the point of having

lost contact with their 'savage' brothers living upstream on the upper Pindare," and adds, "they may even have lost their native language" (1977:93). However, it should be said that these two towns did not experience any immediate economic advance. In fact, their economy remained stagnated; the focus of Maranhao colonial economy took place further to the east where cotton and rice plantations were developed.

The main body of Tenetehara living on the upper Pindaré region, in turn, neither reached full integration into, nor performed even a secondary role in, the regional economy during the late Colonial Period. In fact, they lost contact with the rest of the regional population, and remained economically exclusively directed toward their own subsistence. This isolation was due to politico-economic circumstances which were acting together in a given historic moment. For instance, not only did Tenetehara economic production have no significance to the regional economy, but their condition of free citizens made their labor force useless to the cotton and rice planters. Thus, to relieve the permanent problem of an internal labor supply, the planters began to import slaves from Africa. In this manner, the African slaves came to be more important than indigenous labor to the Maranhão economy. However, if indigenous labor had almost no significance the same cannot be said in relation to their lands. And so, encroachment of Indian lands followed.

Following this period of isolation of the bulk of Tenetehara population from Brazilians, a new phase of contact took form. It was marked from the rise of patron-client relationships that, in turn, were mediated by a twofold trade economy: "one based on the sale of agricultural products, and the other on extractive forest products" (Gomes, 1977:96).

Traders penetrated the region anxious to buy agricultural products (mainly manioc flour) and such forest products as copaiba oil and babassu palm nuts. As usual in northern Brazil, certain traders became the patrões of individual families and whole villages (the clients) advancing them trade goods to be repaid in produce. This developed into a form of debt servitude for once in debt the Indians seldom escaped. As is common in that kind of partnership, the interaction is characterized by a deep imbalance between the two parties (cf. Wolf, 1966). The Tenetehara (clients) were subordinated to the "patrons" (traders) both economically and politically. First, because they were highly dependent upon Western goods; and secondly, the Brazilians retained all political power and, thus, were able to manipulate the Indians' lives according to their own will.

In addition to the patron-client relationship the Tenetehara were engulfed by the official Indian policy period. This policy took the form of a system of directories (directorias) responsible for the Indian affairs. The directories were officers charged with integrating the Indians into the national society. Theoretically the directory should provide indigenous populations with the necessary means to become civilized. In practice, however, the directories had a rather dubious result. In most of the cases, the director manipulated the Indians and the villages for his own economic benefit. As part of the directory system, many Indian colonies were created in Maranhão. These colonies had as their purpose "to pupulate and exploit a particular area as well as bring it into economic and political articulation with the provincial government" (Gomes, 1977:100).

Various Tenetehara villages became colonies under the directory system. Some of them, such as São Pedro do Pindaré, near Moncão, were not successful, and their inhabitants either became assimilated or returned to their villages. Others such as Junuaria were successful. In the diverse colonies the Tenetehara engaged in different economic activities such as lumbering, agriculture, collecting copaiba oil, and working in the construction of roads. In any case, the income generated by the indigenous labor seemed to have never been returned to the Indians. Most of the Indians preferred to deal directly with the trader than through government mediation. At least with the patrons they had some measure of economic freedom.

In time, several Tenetehara migrations occurred in Maranhão. Gomes (1977) suggests two reasons for such migratory movements, namely, search of markets and self-defense. They were already accustomed to consuming manufactured goods and they sought to try to enter into more permanent economic relations with the national society. They migrated in self-defense either because their territory had been invated by Brazilians, or sometimes attracted by commerce at Brazilian settlements. Such migrations were intermittent movements. Groups left their former milieu on the upper Pindaré River moving to the "lower Grajau River and subsequently up this river and thence to the upper Mearim River region" (Gomes, 1977:103). By the middle of the nineteenth century they had reached the region of Barra do Corda on the Mearim and Grajau Rivers. Economically this region is characterized by agricultural and pastoral activities and contained many non-Indian centers. Also, the Tenetehara migrated to the region of extraction of copaiba oil on the Gurupi River. These migrations were undertaken by groups of families and so were able

to maintain their native way of life (Wagley and Galvão, 1969; Gomes, 1977).

Inter-ethnic contact did not have the same intensity in all areas into which the Tenetehara had moved. In some of these areas contact was limited to the traders of copaiba oil who came to their villages to deal with them. In others, such as that of the upper Mearim, where there are no copaiba trees, the Tenetehara had more direct contact with large populations of Brazilians. On the other hand, in their migratory movements the Tenetehara had difficulties both with other Indian tribes such as Timbira and Urubu-Kaapor and fugitive Black slaves who were settled in the interior of the forest.

In 1895 Italian Capuchin priests set up a mission station to catechize and civilize Indians and Brazilian peasants between Barra do Corda and Grajau in Maranhão (Gomes, 1977). Initially they tried to attract Indian boys to be educated in these Brazilian towns. Afterwards due to pressures from local Brazilians and in order to avoid problems with the Brazilian government which prohibited catechism in public schools, they found the Alto Alegre mission in Indian territory. Persuaded by the missionaries three Tenetehara villages moved to Alto Alegre. In order to "civilize" these Indians, the Capuchins started to apply rigid rules which included dismembering the villages into family groups, prohibiting polygyny and any marriage which was not celebrated in accordance with the Catholic ritual, as well as many other Indian customs like dancing and singing. To enforce such rules they imposed a severe work schedule and study in their school. They meted out corporal punishment after three infractions. In addition it seems that Indian labor on the mission was not paid (cf. Gomes, 1977:112). Needless to

say, these policies neither civilized the Indians nor made them friendly toward the mission.

In 1901 what has come to be known as the "massacre of Alto Alegre" took place. Early in the morning at the time for Mass, a group of Tenetehara, lead by an Indian who had been severely punished by the Capunchin for abandoning his wife, attacked Alto Alegre and killed "Padres, Nuns, students, and children of Christian families" (Froes Abreu, 1931; quoted in Wagley and Galvão, 1969:10). The reason for this massacre is not entirely clear. Wagley and Galvão suggest it was caused by "the practice of carrying off Indian infants for training in the mission school and from resentment against the punishments which the padres meted out to natives who practiced polygyny" (1969:10). In turn, Gomes (1977) suggests that one of the main causes of the uprising was the envy of the local landowners of the mission's economic success. These Brazilians instigated the Tenetehara to destroy the mission. At any rate, this violent episode deeply influenced future relations with Brazilians since the leaders of the attack were imprisoned and the Tenetehara as a whole were persecuted. The Tenetehara tended to withdraw and accomodation to the regional society was retarded.

It should be pointed out that this hostility between Brazilians and Tenetehara was of short duration. Five years after the massacre most of the Indians have returned to their early residences. However, the event in itself was sufficient to create a social barrier between the Brazilians (Gomes, 1977). On this point, Gomes asserts that "coupled with the inevitable animosity or, at the very least, suspicion of the Brazilians and their covetousness, this temporary halt allowed the formation of an ideology of a common cause [among the Tenetehara], a

united front, 'us against Brazilians'" (1977:118). This rather vague ideology of group solidarity reinforced Tenetehara ethnic boundaries.

Unlike the Tenetehara on the Mearim and Grajau Rivers, the Tenetehara of the upper Pindaré River and on the Gurupi River had not directly suffered this trauma. It seems that they were more permeable to a Brazilian way of life. Since the late nineteenth century the Indians on the Pindaré and Gurupi Rivers had engaged in commercial affairs with the Brazilians in the sale of copaiba oil and of food staples such as manioc. Also, they lived in close and friendly contact with the few Brazilian settlers in the region and there had been a great deal of miscegenation. This friendly relationship did not give way to an anti-acculturative reaction as that which followed the Alto Alegre massacre. Even when economic stagnation reduced the frequency of ethnic interaction in that region, the Indians did not lose their essentially favorable attitude toward Brazilians. So positive was their feelings toward the Brazilian way of life that a few of them began to deny their own indigenous ethnicity (Wagley and Galvão, 1969). Many others felt themselves socio-culturally inferior to the Brazilians and adopted Brazilian customs. This situation led Wagley and Galvão (1969) to predict the complete assimilation of the Pindaré Tenetehara within a time span of a generation or two. That this did not come about is due to conditions in other areas of the Tenetehara territory and subsequent events.

According to Gomes (1977), the Brazilian Indian service on Maranhao began in 1911 with the establishment of a Regional Office in Sao Luiz. However, only in 1918 did it set up an Indian Post to serve the indigenous population, including the Tenetehara, on the lower Pindaré

River region, and by 1920, a Sub-Regional Office to assist the Canella and the Tenetehara in Barra do Corda. Three years later this office obtained a reservation comprising a territory on which six Tenetehara villages were settled. There were seven more Tenetehara villages in the neighborhood also served by the post. In the subsequent years more Indian Posts and reservations were added to these earlier ones. Today the Tenetehara are assisted by at least 10 Indian Posts and they occupy five reservations. Gomes suggests that the creation of these Posts may be imputed both "to the number of Tenetehara villages and population concentration in a particular area as well as the degree of isolation of certain Tenetehara village areas" (1977:136).

Possibly due to these numbers of Posts and reservations one may be led to think the Tenetehara are safe from any dispute over land with the Brazilians. This is far from being the trush. In fact, as Gomes shows, FUNAI, "as of 1975, had not been able either to demarcate (survey) [Tenetehara] lands or to take legal title to the reservation" [i.e., declare them Federal lands in the possession of the Tenetehara] (1977: 139). This lack of legal action by FUNAI, as well as by the now defunct SPI, has resulted in constant fear of alienation of the Tenetehara's territorial patrimony. Several parts of the Indian reservations have been invaded by Brazilian peasants, or challenged legally by large landowners. This process has become urgent by virtue of the rise of new capitalist enterprises which are occupying the interior of Maranhão state and displacing the local "mode of production based on peasant techniques of cultivation and cattle raising, on patron-client relationship, and on a small margin of profit" (Gomes, 1977:139). Furthermore,

this new advancing frontier has transformed the Indian lands into high priced commodities. Thus, the apathy of FUNAI has caused anxiety among the Tenetehara, and resulted in considerable dissension between them and Brazilian squatters. The delay of FUNAI in surveying, legalizing, and even forcing the invaders off reservation lands has led the Tenetehara to be impatient with, and it increase their low esteem of, this agency (Gomes, 1977). In short, neither the SPI or FUNAI has been effective in protecting Tenetehara lands.

In other spheres of action the Indian agency has also not been fully effective. For instance, Gomes shows us how prior to the 1950's the Tenetehara were recruited to perform certain highly risky jobs without any interference by the SPI. At that time, Tenetehara men were recruited as boatmen to pole and paddle large boats owned by regional storeowners and landowners and used to transport agricultural products to commercial entreports and return loaded with commercial goods. This was an extremely hard and dangerous task which injured or caused the death of many Indians. Gomes gives us an idea of the mortality of these Indian boatmen: "almost every Tenetehara family of the Grajau region, including those living along the Zutiua and Mearim Rivers," he writes, "can name a close relative who died 'pushing canoes'" (1977:165). In addition to being an "Indian murdering machine," as the canoe business is called by the Tenetehara, it was a means to tie the Indians to the patrons through debt-peonage system. By virtue of low wages the canoe owners paid to the Indians and poor local peasants, they invariably lived in debt to their patrons. Hence, they could not give up performing the task. It is true that around 1950 the Tenetehara were forbidden by the SPI to sell their labor force as crewmen. Also, this agency

annulled their debts. But this occurred only after 30 years of labor recruitment.

In addition to its poor record in protecting indigenous lands and mediating the relationship between the Tenetehara and the larger society, SPI/FUNAI has generally failed in its efforts to develop the tribal economy and its programs of health care or education (cf. Gomes, 1977: chapter VI). Nevertheless, it must be said that the SPI and FUNAI have had a continuous presence among the Tenetehara. These agencies did not for a time totally abandon the Tenetehara as did the SPI among the Mundurucu. The very presence of an agency in charge of "protecting" the Indians in the region has probably saved the Tenetehara from a worse fate. Both the SPI and FUNAI have been agencies created to act in behalf of indigenous interests but at the same time both have been tied to Brazilian political and economic concerns. This in itself is a contradiction. Yet, Gomes claimed that, "without the SPI/FUNAI, there would not have been even a 'contradiction,' only a clear negative attitude toward the Indians, and the consequences thereof. The SPI/FUNAI, in sum, is the lesser of two evils, and as such it is needed by the Indian" (1977:172).

Obviously it should not be forgotten that inter-ethnic contact is not an unilateral process. It involves societies each one marked by its own social and cultural commonality, irrespective of which is the dominant majority or the submissive minority. Therefore, if the majority has the conditions to exert pressures (or even "protect") on the minority this stimulates socio-cultural means on the part of the minority to resist and preserve its ethnic peculiarities. The Tenetehara are a good example. Despite the fact that they have been

subjected to various pressures, they have preserved their native language, customs, and world view. The Tenetehara's flexibility and responsiveness to new adverse situations seems to have been their main weapon. For instance, the problem of land which is plaguing them today is functioning as a catalyst rather than a cause of dispersion. Villages which traditionally have been politically independent are associating with one another to face a common menace. In addition, the Tenetehara have experienced in the last 10 to 15 years a cultural revitalization. They are again celebrating social and religious ceremonies they had neglected. More important is the fact that this restoration of their traditional ceremonies is not simply a return to the past, something impossible to be realized, but a renewal which does not preclude acceptance of Brazilian cultural features (cf. Gomes, 1977:32). The strength of their ethnic symbols does not bind them to their dependence on the larger society, nor to the impossibility of isolation from it. During centuries of contact they have faced many challenges and overcome them maintaining them through ethnic autonomy.

Now, in the late twentieth century, the Tenetehara face a new challenge. The new railroad to be built from the Serra dos Carajas to São Luis in Maranhão will pass directly through this territory. Small towns of Brazilians adjacent to them are projected to grow to 50,000 to 100,000 people. And, Tenetehara lands will increase again in market value becoming even more enticing to commercial interests.

CHAPTER VI
THE TUXÁ

The Tuxá Indians live on a reservation in the town of Rodelas, Bahia, located in the valley of the São Francisco River. Their linguistic affiliation is unknown as they no longer speak their aboriginal language. They are, after at least 300 years of contact, highly integrated within the national society. According to a census taken by my wife and I in 1973, the Tuxá number 463; 227 males and 236 females (Nasser, 1975; Cabral Nasser, 1975). They are a young population with 61% of the total under the age of 19. The majority live in the village, while a smaller proportion (16.8%) is dispersed throughout the town and in nearby hamlets (4.3%). Nevertheless, the Tuxá residing outside of the village maintain intimate contact with its inhabitants and with the Indian Post. They do so primarily because of kinship ties and ethnic identity, and also for the assistance they may obtain from the governmental agency.

Phenotypically, the Tuxá show few traces of their Amerindian descent, reflecting the intense miscegenation that has occurred over the prolonged period of contact. Likewise, little or nothing of their original culture remains intact. Forms of subsistence, dress, nutrition, social organization, and even beliefs have been profoundly influenced by the presence of European, and to a lesser extent, African elements. As stated above, the aboriginal tongue is no longer spoken. Without exception, one woman who speaks a few words (pretensiously) in Tuxá, and one

man of whom it is said, "corta lingua como os antigos Tuxá" (speaks the language like the ancestors) but who no longer lives in the town, none remember the native language. The tribes memory of past people and events only extends back two or three generations. What the Tuxá retain today is only their ethnic identity, a consciousness that they were once a society differentiated and opposed to the national society.

Today the Tuxá are facing the trauma of forced resettlement. Due to the shortage of energy, the Brazilian government decided in 1975 to construct a dam just downstream from Rodelas. Its construction will flood the town and with it the Tuxá village. Until 1978 there was no decision regarding the future of the Tuxá. At that time the Tuxá were split into two fractions, each one with its own proposal to solve the problem. One of the fractions, the strongest, proposed to be resettled with the town. The other preferred to move to Bananal Island in the Araguaia River, in Brazil Central. This is an unstable area due to problems of land invasion by squatters. The group who expressed the desire to be relocated with the people of Rodelas took into account schooling opportunities for their children. They did not want to be isolated in Bananal. But, the problem with relocation here is the change in subsistence and trade that would be demanded. In the area where the Tuxá now live, along the middle course of the São Francisco River, the fertile lands are the banks and island of the river which will be flooded. Since the Tuxá are agriculturalists, they should be transferred to another place that presents the same ecological conditions in which they can continue to farm as they did before. Considering this aspect, the Tuxá themselves suggested the idea that they be transferred to Assuncão Island, upstream from Rodelas and near

the town of Cabrobo in the state of Pernambuco. As of today, I do not know the ultimate outcome of the problem since it was still under study by FUNAI in 1978. Virtually any course of action, however, spells a traumatic experience for the Tuxá.

Economy

The regional economy in which the Tuxá participate is based on agricultural and pastoral activities. The Tuxá themselves are agriculturists and their production is geared almost entirely to subsistence. They complement their agriculture by fishing, hunting, and gathering wild products. Fish is their main source of protein, while hunting and gathering are only secondary in the general context of the indigenous economy. The principal agricultural products are onions, manioc, rice, and beans. Onions are produced entirely for sale in the market, and it is primarily from these profits that the Indians satisfy their desire for consumer goods (a product of their integration with the national society). The remaining agricultural products are used to satisfy internal demand and only rarely are they exchanged in the marketplace. Manioc flour, rice, and beans, together with fish constitute the staples of the local diet.

Almost all the men of the village engage in fishing throughout the year. In general, the fish considered of the highest quality are sold. When fishing the Tuxá use, in addition to hooks and nets, a type of spear which they call a batim. This instrument is utilized exclusively by the Indians and is employed in fishing for larger species such as the surubim and pira and also for spearing cayman. Hunting, once a major economic activity of the Tuxá, is today of less importance. This decline

appears to be related to the almost total disappearance of the capivara due to its indiscriminate hunting by the local non-Indian population. The gathering of forest products is primarily the work of the women and children. This is a seasonal activity generally carried out in groups. In reality, with the increase of agricultural production, gathering has also become a less crucial factor in the overall subsistence strategy.

The major part of Txuá's agricultural production is carried out on Viuva Island, the only island remaining in the possession of the Indian reserve. The island measures approximately 70 square hectares and, because of its fertility, represents the best location for agricultural production. Other lands localized in the village are not yet demarcated and are not as fertile as the island. Hence, the Indians have not been motivated to cultivate them intensively. On the other hand, the island's productivity no longer meets the consumption nor commercial needs of the indigenous population. This is due to the gradually declining potential of the soils and to the demographic growth among the Tuxá. Limitations of arable land in the reservation have restricted productivity, and thereby forced many Indians to seek wage labor or sharecropping arrangements from the regional landowners. This factor has had a major impact on the outmigration of young Tuxá men and women who, unable to work their own lands and unwilling to exchange their labor for the low local wages, have migrated to the south of Brazil in search of better employment opportunitites.

A large part of the Tuxá agriculture during the 1950's and early 1960's was limited to the "várzea" (flood-plain). The várzea had rich, moist soils due to the seasonal humus deposits resulting from the flooding of the São Francisco River. It is possible that the introduction of

onion cultivation to the region during the 1950's and early 1960's, accompanied by new farming techniques, led the Indians to changes in their agricultural practices. At present, like the non-Indian farmers, they make use of chemical fertilizers, insecticides, herbicides, and irrigation. Initially irrigation was practiced in a rudimentary form utilizing human energy alone. The "molhacão", as the technique is called by the Indians themselves, simply involved carrying water from the river to the cultivation sites. The Indian Post constructed two water wheels which directed water from the river to the fields through zinc troughs. About 10 years ago the water wheels were replaced by electric pumps increasing the volume of water and enlarging the irrigated area of the island. In 1974 the Indian Post installed a third pump. Nevertheless, by 1975 portions of Viuva Island were still without irrigation.

Irrigation freed the Indians from the vagaries of the local climate and allowed them to increase the amount of time dedicated to cultivation. When they depended solely on the rains and the flooding of the river they cultivated only six months out of the year. With irrigation they could grow crops year round. The increase in productivity resulted in a need for additional labor. Since the Tuxá did not have the means to pay wage laborers, their women had to spend more time in the fields. Greater female participation in agricultural production appeared to have contributed greatly to a decline in spinning and weaving. Masculine occupations, such as fishing, also were demoted to a secondary status as time and energy expended on agriculture increased. Hohenthal (1960a), during his visit to the Tuxá village, verified that fishing and agriculture already were the bases of the indigenous economic order.

In reality the increase in agricultural production meant an increase in time devoted to one cash-crop: onions. If on the other hand, the sale of onions has led to a better standard of living for the Tuxá, it has also augmented their dependency on the national society. This dependency is reflected in two ways--in the sale of onions in a marketplace controlled by the dominant ethnic group and in the abandonment of household manufacture of their own clothing. In the first instance the Tuxa entered into an economy presided over by the laws of supply and demand in which price fluctuations depend on an urban consumer market controlled by middlemen. The relatively small scale of indigenous production was not an indispensible factor in regional production and did not create any ties of dependency between the non-Indian consumer and the Indian producer. In the second instance, the Indians became more dependent on the national society for manufactured goods by ceasing to produce their own garments. The production and sale of onions together with the sale of labor has facilitated the acquisition of superflous items such as battery operated radios, phonographs, and tape recorders. Although these items possess dubious utilitarian value they are symbolically of greater relevance. The possession of these goods confers prestige within the context of the indigenous community and a symbolic equality in relation to the dominant ethnic group.

The Tuxa also participate in the regional economy through sharecropping, wage labor, fluvial transport, buying and selling of lumber, spining, and weaving. The latter two are actually of little importance today, either to the indigenous economy or to the regional market.

The insertion of the Indians into the regional labor market has come about in two ways, through sharecropping and through the sale of

labor for wages. In both cases entrance into the labor market occurs when the Indian has no land on the reserve, has insufficient land, or lacks the necessary capital to maintain agricultural production. There is a marked preference for working one's own land or working on the reserve in order to avoid the common exploitation of sharecropping and wage labor. However, this is an ideal situation. While many Tuxá lack sufficient land and capital (or if they simply own no land on Viuva Island) labor on the farms of non-Indians is constant. Hence, the Indians are forced to compete with landless non-Indians for job opportunities in a region with an abundance of unskilled labor. Although we have not observed any constraints on the employment of the indigenous labor force because of their ethnic identity (Cabral Nasser, 1975; Nasser, 1975), the saturation of the regional labor market has resulted in the emigration of many young Tuxá to other areas where there exists better work opportunities.

Being able canoe navigators and familiar with the river, the Tuxá have traditionally been involved in fluvial transportation. In the past many of them worked as oarsmen on large boats which shipped merchandise along the middle course of the São Francisco River. Today work on the river has been reduced to the use of their own sail boats for daily trips to the islands, as well as for the transport of goods and passengers to the weekly markets in the towns near Rodelas. These activities are most intense and lucrative during the rainy season when roads become impassable. During the summer, however, commercial transport by canoe must compete with other means, such as truck. Even during the rainy season not all Indians participate in commercial

navigation, either because they have no canoe or because their boats do not meet the necessary requirements for such navigation.

Another source of competition for the Indians are the non-Indians who own motorized boats. The participation of non-Indians in cargo and passenger transport has had a profound influence on the indigenous carriers, since the motorized boats are faster, more comfortable, and carry larger loads. One means the Indians have used to survive this competition has been to claim their cargo as their own property, and thereby avoid paying taxes on it. This is possible since by the Indian Statute they are exempt from taxation. Nevertheless, by 1975 almost all of the Tuxá involved in this type of commerce were working as employees of the owners of motorized boats. By associating themselves with the non-Indians, the Indians continued to make use of their tax exempt status, which was also beneficial to the motorized boat proprietors.

This association with the Indians provides a competitive advantage to non-Indian proprietors and furnishes a larger margin of profit. Clearly, the Indians associated with non-Indians were also able to increase their income since the motorized boats had greater cargo capacities. But this association created, in the long run, a greater dependency of the Indian on the non-Indian. Firstly, it resulted in the elimination of those Indian owners of small boats who did not form associations with non-Indians. Secondly, because the Indians were employed as mere laborers they could at any time be substituted in spite of the small advantages to be gained from the tax break.

The business of purchasing and selling lumber is executed entirely in terms of an association between the Indians and the non-Indians. The former furnish the labor, the latter provide the capital. In general,

there are two means of raising the capital for these ventures. The money may be borrowed from a non-Indian loan shark, or from the "society." In the first case the interest charged is at least 5% per month. The "society" functions as a "meacão" (sharecropping system), in which the Indian contributes the labor and the non-Indian provides the capital. The net profit is divided equally. In any case, however, lumber extraction does not appear to be a very lucrative activity whatever the arrangement. In addition to the small amount of capital used, the Indians, like other non-Indian lumber extractors, are always the victims of price controls exerted by the intermediaries; that is, the warehouse and mill owners who maintain a monopoly on the lumber market and carry out the commercial transactions at their own convenience.

Payment for lumber delivered to the saw mills is never immediate. Often Indians and non-Indians must wait for weeks. The delay favors only the urban buyer who can then manipulate capital that is not his and on which he does not pay any interest. The Indian who delivers the lumber loses money in at least three ways--he pays more in interest on money borrowed to extract the lumber, reducing his margin of profit; he must pay transportation costs to and lodging in the city where the lumber is sold (over 100 kilometers from Rodelas); and he loses the interest which he should receive on the capital tied up in the hands of the mill owner. In reality the intermediary is financed by the Indian whose eventual profits are retained without any sort of financial compensation.

Up to the present the Tuxá's participation in the regional economy has not brought them any real benefits, nor has it permitted the accumulation of capital which would grant them any degree of autonomy in

various economic activities. Their situation in the regional economy has always been one characterized by dependency and exploitation.

Spining has remained an exclusively female occupation. Its earlier importance to the domestic economy is today merely residual. Few women of the village still spin. Its gradual abandonment appears to have two causes -- (1) reduced profit margins due to price increases in raw cotton without an accompanying increase in the value of threat on the local market, and (2) greater female participation in village agricultural production. The introduction of irrigation led to an increase in the amount of time spent in cultivation and to more intense utilization of female labor from the domestic group. Ceramics have all but disappeared among the Tuxá. One woman alone continues to produce ceramics and only at irregular intervals since she lacks the material means to work more and also lacks a market.

Society

Nothing of significance remains of the social organization of the past. Rules regarding marriage, norms, patterns regulating conduct in the village, forms of dress, diet, and work all are very similar if not identical to those of the non-Indian population of Rodelas. This obliterates any marked distinction between the Indian and the non-Indian. Perhaps one survival of the old social structure might be the terms kâ and tuxâ which are, in rare instances, appended to proper names. According to Hohenthal, these terms might reflect the past existence of a moiety system, or some dual division of the tribe (1960a:60). We found no evidence, however, to corroborate this hypothesis. On the contrary, one Tuxá extended family used the term apáko, which would

seem to indicate yet another division alongside the ka:tuxa dichotomy.

The basic social unit of the village is the nuclear and monogamous family which reckons descent bilaterally. As well as functioning as the socializing nucleus, the family functions as an autonomous producing and consuming unit. Domestic authority is divided between father and mother although it appears to be represented with greater vigor by paternal figure. The extended family is still relevant as a prestige group, particularly when it is very large or when one of its members has occupied or occupies a position of importance within the community. The family of the pajé, for example, whose antecedent was a capitão of the village, is considered to have greater prestige among families of the village. This largest family of the village, although it maintains some degree of prestige, is today politically weakened. This is due to the fact that one of its past leaders supported the actions of an Indian Post Chief which resulted in the alienation of a portion of the tribal territory.

Among the Tuxá endogamous marriages are preferred. Yet, although informants have emphasized this preference, the facts point in the opposite direction; 60% of conjugal unions occur between Indians and non-Indians. Of these unions, 18% are marriages between Tuxá men and outside women and 42% between Indian women and non-Indian men (Cabral Nasser, 1975). These numbers reflect the asymmetrical relationship existing between the two ethnic groups, in that the net flow of women is clearly in the direction of the dominant ethnic group. This situations would illustrate what Goody (1970) calls the "open connubium" in which the men of the politically dominant group can marry women of the

subordinate one but not vice-versa. This system would be found where women were valued as a source of domestic labor and as producers of children. The Tuxá case, however, is somewhat different since marriage is not with men of the dominant class but with men of the dominant ethnic group.

Those who marry Tuxá women are, in general, non-Indians from the lowest strata of their own society. By marrying indigenous women they gain access to certain rights inherent in Indian status: access to Indian land and to the few services offered by the Indian Post, and a right to participate in village activities including those of a religious nature. The Indian rights of usufruct, such as land ownership and assistance from an official government organization, have become extremely valuable in the eyes of the poor non-Indians. On the other hand, the ties made between the Tuxa and the outsiders are also very important, particularly when one considers that ethnic relations in Rodelas are permeated with antagonism. Through these inter-marriages the Tuxá extend their kinship webs beyond the village boundaries. In fact, there is a flux of reciprocity; if through inter-ethnic unions the non-Indians acquire rights inherent to indigenous condition, in turn the Indians gain a bit of support wihtin the opposing ethnic group.

It should be noted that inter-ethnic marriages do not affect the ethnic identification of the offspring. Since the rule of descent is bilateral the child is always considered Tuxá, irrespective of whether the father or the mother is Tuxá. Therefore, in spite of the large number of cross-marriages the continuity of the Tuxá as an ethnic group is guaranteed.

The low index of marriages between Tuxá men and Brazilian women might be attributed to the ethnic problem. The "white" girls, in general, do not want to flirt with the young men from the village. The girls consider themselves ethnically and socially superior, and to marry a Tuxá would mean losing social status. Thus, the the young Tuxá all that is left is the opportunity to marry a non-Indian woman of their same social level. In this kind of union they have neither social nor economic advantages. It seems this has led them to seek marriage within the group. They often rationalize the problem by saying they prefer marriage to Tuxá women because they are more honest and harder workers than Brazilian women.

It is interesting to note that some of the Brazilian women married to Tuxá men prefer to live in the town. They try to attract their husbands to their domestic groups. Therefore, while Tuxá women prefer to reside in the village, the Tuxá men tend to reside with the family of the non-Indian wife. In time, this will provoke gradual alienation of these Tuxá men from village life. Until 1977, however, this did not appear to constitute a menance to village integrity. The Tuxá continued to live together, tied through strong ethnic bonds. In cases involving Indian and non-Indian marriages, even those who lived in the town, all supported their peers. As the Tuxá say--in the village all are kin.

Although neolocality is considered the "ideal" rule for post-nuptial residence, matrilocality stands out as a common option. Virilocality is practically non-existent. Only in rare cases when, for instance, there is not enough room in the house of the wife's parents will newlyweds reside with the husband's parents. The wife's family tends to attract the husband whose labor is added to their domestic group.

Thus, by marrying an Indian woman the non-Indian acquires a right to work the land of his father-in-law. These lands are commonly situated on Viuva Island which belongs to the Indian reserve. When the new husband is an Indian he may work either the land of his in-laws or the land of his parents. This will depend on the amount of land available, which is becoming more and more scarce due to fractioning through inheritance. Today much of the land cannot be sub-divided further. If this is so, the young bridegroom will either work with his own father or father-in-law, or he will become a sharecropper or wage laborer.

Upon the death of a family head the lands are divided equally between the widow and children. Today, after continuous subdivisions, this occurs less frequently. Only one or two children will receive an inheritance of land, generally those who have already been working with their father. Sons-in law have the same rights to the land as their brothers-in-law. Although the division of land is not quite the same as it was in the past in view of growing scarcity due to demographic growth, we have not observed any discord within or between families over land.

Since the Indians only hold usufruct rights and not property rights to the reserve's lands, they may not freely sell or rent this land to the non-Indians. The renting and selling of these lands was a common practice though, prior to the installation of the Indian Post. This practice, however, led more often than not to the loss of indigenous patrimony. Today the transfer of lots can only be made through inheritance or sale from Indian to Indian. This is, nevertheless, a rare occurrence given the scarcity of viable farm land. Consequently, everyone tries to retain possession of their lots since they know it would be difficult to obtain another. When a land sale does occur what is

actually being paid for are land improvements and the right to work it. The sale is supervised by the head of the Indian Post and requires the presence of the involved parties as well as one or two witnesses to the transaction.

"Direito de Posse" (possession right) are accepted and respected. Even persons who have left the village to reside in other locales reserve those rights. All of the village residents are well aware of the fact that they do not have property rights to the land since the tribal territory is communal. Nevertheless, land to which someone has usufruct rights is not appropriated when they move away from Rodelas. If a resident Indian exploits these lands it is with the knowledge that he must relinquish them to the real owners or heirs as soon as the latter wishes to reclaim them. If any improvement has been made on the land, whoever is currently using it must be indemnified. If crops have already been planted, the land is only returned after the harvest. If the old owner has maintained concrete ties with the village, however sporadically, he receives half of the harvest if he or someone appointed by him claims his quota. In the opposite case, the present user owes nothing to the absent owner.

Subdivision of the tribal territory among Indians as well as among non-Indians who have married into the group has resulted in the progressive reduction in the space suitable for economically viable production. The problem of tying the Tuxá to the land has become increasingly disquieting. According to a survey we conducted in 1974, the land on Viuva Island was being exploited by 42 nuclear families. The size of lots belonging to each varied approximately between 6,400 and 2,300 square meters. The insufficiency of these lots is clear when we consider

that the average Tuxá family is composed of more than six individual, all of whom derive their primary livelihood from agriculture. Consequently, the land is not sufficient as a means of production to maintain the indigenous population. It cannot meet their needs, subsistence or commercial. The problem is destined to become worse and increase the dependency of the Tuxa on the national society. Under these circumstances the land tends to take on a greater symbolic value; that is, it is perceived as tribal territory, the boundaries of which help to demarcate the ethnic differences between those who reside within and those who live in the outside world. Even those Indians residing outside of the village maintain close ties with it as an ethnic point of reference.

Nothing, in a formal sense, can be said for the existence of a Tuxá indigenous political organization. If it existed in the past, the years of contact have diluted it into forms of power completely different from the original. Hence, I shall devote this discussion more to certain "roles" than to any "institutions" capable of ordering the political life of the village as a whole. In this sense it is possible to speak of the role of "capitão," the roots of which surely go back to the earliest moments of contact and to the time of subjugation under the religious missions and Indian Directors. Another role of importance in the village is that of the pajé. Much more recent in origin than the capitão, the appearance of the pajé was due to the direct intervention of the Indian Post. The political panorama of the village includes also the heads of large kin groups whose importance was much greater in the past than it is today.

Until 1971 the major position of political authority belonged to the capitão whose functions were primarily concerned with mediations between the Indians and the non-Indians. His authority was limited in regard to internal matters and depended greatly on his ability to deal with the heads of the larger kin groups. His selection depended on his own accomplishments concerning the protection of village interests. The last capitão before the installation of the Indian Post was selected by a consensus on the basis of his efforts in defense of the village. There was no formal process in the selection of the capitão--he simply came to be considered and treated as such among the Indians gradually over time.

Even on the death of the last capitão in 1971, an election was held to fill the position. This act was an initiative of the current Chief of the Indian Post who, at the same time, created the new position of the pajé. The functions of these leaders were determined by the Indian Post. The capitão served as intermediary between the Indian Post, the Indians, and the non-Indians. The pajé was placed in charge of the resolution of internal problems and directed the group's rituals. The pajé, therefore, maintained control over the toré and the particular, the two major rituals of the Tuxá. Being designated head of the rituals has meant that the paje must demonstrate a greater ability to communicate with the supernatural. Without that superior ability he would not maintain the respect of his peers. If the roles of capitão and pajé appear to be in theory well defined, in practice they are not. Often both have performed the same function, but this has never been a source of power conflict.

The head of the largest kin group also held an important position in the realm of internal village power. Supported by his consanguines, such a leader would always be present when decisions concerning the destiny of the village were made. His authority appeared to be equal to that of the capitao and in some cases was even greater, particularly when he made a pact with the head of the Indian Post. Such an association was quite common and through it the head of the Indian Post could secure more effective control over the rest of the village--or at least legitimate his actions as having the support of the majority. The backing of one particular family by the Indian Post, however, must have led to a gradual decline in the prestige of such leadership due to the reactions of the supplanted families. On the other hand, with the shift in importance from the extended to the nuclear family, the individual interests of each elemental family group took precedence over those of the large consanguineal kin group. Leadership became fragmented. Decisions which in the past could be made among a few prominent leaders today involve many more people. This has provoked larger confrontations between the diverse factions and generated disputes, in spite of a decline in nepotism. Only one family still unites around a common leader, perhaps because of the political office which he holds--that of paje.

Religion

The religious practices of the Tuxá, though much effected by the years of contact and subordination to national society, have been maintained as important instruments in the resistance to acculturation and as a means of ensuring the persistence and equilibrium of Tuxá society.

It is through the continuous practice of their beliefs that they seek to compensate for the destructive effects of prolonged contact and relations of ethnic inequality. It has also served to counterbalance the loss of other distinguishing ethnic traits. The Tuxá, a differentiated ethnic minority in the regional context, have found on a ritualistic and ideological plane a way to resist assimilation and to affirm their own ethnic condition by refusing to allow non-Indians to participate in their religious life. It is also through this aspect of their cultural life that they avidly seek to overcome internal dissension or to reinforce prestige and authority. The pajé, for example, whose authority is formalized through the intervention of the Indian Post in village politics, continues to struggle for the confirmation and even amplification of his power through manipulation of the supernatural world.

Tuxá beliefs today are the result of a fusion of indigenous, Catholic, and African elements. They have build a cult around the encantados, supernatural entities, but are also devotees of Saint John the Baptist. As in candomblé, an Afro-Brazilian cult, their ritual chants are called linhas and those belonging to each supernatural entity are called aparelho. While there is no difference in terms of power between saints, orixás (African deities, mainly of Yoruban origin), and encantados, these beings are different in nature (Bastide, 1978). They are distinctive entities. Also, the encantados should not be confused with, and are different in essence from the spirits of the dead. They are spirits of the forest, of water, and of the earth which perhaps were once Indians but are not disembodied forces.

These supernaturals exercise a great influence over the daily life of the Indians because of their special powers over life, death,

sickness, prosperity, and happiness. They may use their powers to punish as well as to protect. The Tuxá are unable to explain with certainty the origin of the encantados, but they do say that they are Indians who have been transformed. Nor is there a myth which might indicate their origin. The "kingdom of enchantment" (o reino dos encantados), the world in which these beings live, is not to be confused with the "heaven" occupied by the Christian God and other divinities of the Catholic pantheon. The encantados can materialize in human form, as birds, or may simply make themselves felt as a "presence."

The most powerful and most worshipped encantado in the village is Velho Ká-nenem, a mythical hero-protector of the village, whose appearance coincided with its founding. Like other encantados he may assume many diverse forms. In human form he has the power to appear as an old man, a young man, or a child, depending on the time of day when he becomes visible to mortal eyes--at night he is an old man, in the morning a child, and in the evening a young man. Few people of the village have had the priviledge of seeing him. His materialization is most common during the particular ritual when the Indians are under the intoxicating influence of Jurema and tobacco. The encantados may come from the forest or the water. The principal encantados of the forest are Juremeira, Caipora (or Dona da Mata) and Mestre Morato, while those those of the waters are Ká-Nanem, Mãe d'Agua, Dondozinha, and Juaná. The Indians have their closest ties with the supernaturals of the river.

The religious life ot the Tuxá is manifested in the festivals of the toré and the particular or oculto. The toré is a public dance with both profane and religious characteristics. It takes on the air of amusement and is also a means of promoting communication between the

living and the protective entities of the village. It is a collective dance which may take place any time of the year and in the presence of any audience. Men and women of all ages may participate. During the ritual the participants drink jurema (or anjucá), a beverage prepared from the root of the juremeira preta (Mimosa nigra), and/or cachaca (sugar cane rum) to "give strength" to them which facilitates contact with the supernatural. During the dance they also smoke tobacco in tubular pipes of clay or wood, and use a whistle to attract the encantados or to revive a participant from a state of trance. The use of tobacco is most often restricted to the mestras, women who are skilled in the dance and lead the toré, calling the linhas (ritual chants which should be intoned).

In the course of the toré the dancers form two columns (when there are few participants they form only one) headed by those more apt in the dance and chants. The movements of the dancers accompany the rhythm which is kept by the playing of maracas and by the pounding of feet on the ground. During the toré all intone ritual chants which are generally appeasement songs are directed toward some supernatural entity. Frequently an Indian will enter a trance. In this state they become an intermediary for the encantado who communicates with those present, giving advice, indicating treatments or remedies for an illness, or making reprimands. As the moment nears for communication with the encantados, the non-Indians are told to leave the locale where the toré is being held. The warning is made by the mestras who begin singing a linha, the content of which makes clear the intentions of the Indians. This linha is also accompanied by important hand movements. As soon as they hear the chant and see the gestures the non-Indians retire from

the scene. Although it is public, the participation of non-Indians in the toré is not permitted, excepting those associated through matrimonial ties. (The prohibition extends to all members of the latter's family of origin as well.)

The particular is a more restricted and elaborate ceremony than the tore; non-Indians are expressly forbidden to participate. It is a vigorous focal point of ethnic resistance. By impeding access of non-Indians to this ceremony the Indians reaffirm their identity since they alone, because of their ethnic identity, can understand and execute the ritual and be protected by the supernatural entities. Because the ceremony is considered to be "caboclo" (the term used by non-Indians for the Indian) the particular provides a basis on a religious level for the distinction made by many that this is truly the "church of the Indian", implying that the Catholic church is for the non-Indian. Speaking of the ouricuri ceremony practiced by the Fulio, Hohenthal affirms what I also believe to be valid for the case of the Tuxá's particular ceremony. He states,

> The institution of the ouricuri, maintained by the majority of the surviving indigenous communities (in the northeast of Brazil) with different degrees of success or failure, reflects a febrile desire to remain indigenous at all costs and even if in name only. These esoteric ceremonies facilitate the release of emotional tension and aggressive sensibilities resulting from the subordinate position of the communities in which the Indians reside, because the ouricuri holds mysteries and witnesses unknown and little understood events from the point of view of surrounding neo-Brazilians. In this manner the Indians experience themselves as part of a group worthy of consideration; they perceive themselves to be direct decendants of the ancient owners of the land. (Hohenthal, 1960b:65)

Maria de Lourdes Bandeira in her ethnography of the Kariri of Mirandela, Bahia, arrives at an identical interpretation in the

affirmation that

> . . . it is in beliefs that the caboclo (the Kariri Indian) finds the basis for ethnocentrism because they affirm the ethnic superiority which is denied him at the adaptive and associative levels. Work with the supernatural is the only source of prestige for the caboclo living under the "Portuguese" (as the whites are called by the Kariri). This prestige is limited to persons who have such "work," something exclusively caboclo. Nevertheless, the entire group feels that prestige and takes great pride in it. (Bandeira, 1972:76)

The particular is closely associated with the drinking of jurema and the use of tobacco; both are necessary for it to take place. The first allows a proper "vision" or perspective to the Indians and the second gives them strength and annuls the so-called "strong currents"; that is, it influences the supernaturals who would flee from the control of the principal actors, the pajé and the mestras. The maraca is also used to mark the rhythm of the chants and the whistle serves the dual function of attracting encantados and bringing Indians out of trances, making them return to the world of the living. In the source of the particular ritual chants are sung, each being identified with specific entities, propitiating their arrival and giving them satisfaction. One of the principal functions of the particular is to bring about communication between the supernatural entities, which protect the village, and the Indians, since it is the encantados who advise, punish, cure, and remind them not to neglect the "duties of the caboclo," as a stimulation for non-assimilation. According to the general belief, without the encantados the village would cease to exist.

Since the particular is a secret ceremony, it takes place in isolated localities, such as on Viuva Island. When it does occur in the village it is held in some enclosure and very late in the night. Taking such measures, the Tuxá can better ensure that the ceremony is not seen

by non-Indians or disturbed by children. In the past it was held weekly, on Saturdays. Today with the death of many of the old mestras and the growing disinterest of many young members of the village, it is held at irregular intervals and not on any fixed day. It is possible that the pajé, interested in strengthening his power through control of this ceremony, may act to bring the particular back to its vigorous popularity of earlier times.

Brief History of Contact

The Tuxá first enter the historical record at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. This was due mainly to two factors -- (a) the penetration into the northeastern interior of a pastoral front which, originating on the coast, pushed westward in search of new pastures, and (b) the actions of the religious missions, initiated by the Capuchins and Jesuits, whose intent was the Christianization of the Indians. Both the cattle ranchers and missionaries provoked crucial changes among the Tuxá.

The dislocation of the ranching frontier was a direct consequence of development in sugar cane agriculture near the coast of Brazil. Bovine production was, in a sense, complementary to sugar production--cattle being utilized as traction animals in the mills and their meat being a source of protein for the workers and the owners. Yet, the cattle ranches came into conflict with the expanding sugar industry which required the gradual extension of can field (Furtado, 1963:62). The fact that cattle production moved specifically through the São Francisco valley in its progression towards the interior can be attributed to ecological factors. The parts of the region lying beyond

the coast and outside of the humid strip along the São Francisco River were not amenable to bovine production, particularly in view of the cyclical droughts which characterize the arid northeastern backlands. Because the river was perennial, it represented the most viable option for the dislocation and channeling of the moving cattle frontier. Therefore, the cattle ranches which originated in Bahia were progressively installed along the banks and on the islands of the São Francisco River (Andrade, 1963). This particular route of expansion, therefore, facilitated contact between cattle ranchers and tribal groups located in the drainage system of the São Francisco River.

In 1671 the French Capuchins had already established two missions in the region of the middle course of the São Francisco River, one of which would have been at Rodelas. In 1672 two more missions were established on the islands formed by the São Francisco River--Aracapa and Cavalo (today São Felix), and later three more were set up on the islands of Vacas, Pambu, and Vargem. Valentin Calderon (1970) notes that the Jesuits did not arrive in this region until 1685 when they established five misisons. The head of the "casa da Torre" and the most powerful landlord of Bahia, Francisco Dias D'Avila, soon came into conflict with the missionaries.

Dias D'Avila's challenge to the Capuchins and Jesuits to gain absolute control of the land and Indians culminated in the departure of the former in 1969 and the Jesuits six years later. The Ignatians, nevertheless, achieved some victories by way of the royal decrees of the 23 September 1700 and 4 June 1703. The first determined that the villages should contain a minimum of 100 couples, but gave the Indians the right to choose the site of the village. The second law set the

territorial limits of the villages at one square league. This, theoretically, would have appeared to guarantee sufficient land for the Indians' subsistence activities. History, however, reveals otherwise. The conflicts provoked in the disputes over Indian lands persist into the present--villages and reserves being gradually alienated in favor of the dominant ethnic group.

With the departure of the Capuchins and Jesuits between 1698 and 1700, the missions came under the direction of Franciscan priests who maintained close ties with the "Casa da Torre". However, again through the influence of the "Casa da Torre" they were replaced by the Barefoot Carmelites who were later substituted by the Italian Capuchins. The latter remained to assist the Indians until the end of the nineteenth century. To what extent these religious groups were in effect agents of the estate owners' interests cannot be firmly determined by existing evidence. That they did serve the purposes of the large landowners is suggested, however, by the fact that in 1709 one of the "seahorses" of the Casa da Torre proposed to the King that he take the financial responsibility of maintaining the Italian Capuchins in the São Francisco River Valley. Yet, even if the missions did participate actively in the process of change among these tribal groups, and this would seem inevitable given their objectives, their role as mediators, limiting the predatory actions of the cattle ranchers, is indisputable. It is clear that the best territory for economic pursuits was limited spatially and ecologically, consisting only of the narrow strip along the river and the islands. And, it was on this land, the most fertile in the region, that the villages were located. Therefore, it would

appear that without the mediation of the religious missions the indigenous population would have had little chance of survival.

The following years revealed an increased domination of the larger society over the indigenous population and, consequently, an increased dependency of the Indians on the world of the white man. Reports from the General Directors of the Indian population consistently refer to the state of poverty and persectuion that existed, as well as to miscegination. Also common are complaints against those whose duty it was to watch over the Indian villages and protect their integrity. One letter from the Indians of Rodelas, addressed to the President of the Province in 1823, requests that measures be taken against the oppressive actions of an individual holding the post of "Capitão Mor" (commander of town or village militia). Another correspondence, also from Rodelas and written in 1861, describes to the "mandatorio" of the province the persecution of Indians by the "Director da Aldeia" (Director of the Village). This particular director was not only in alliance with the "Portuguese" against the natives but was even granting the former tribal lands.

The loss of tribal patrimony was a constant factor throughout the years of contact. However, in spite of the prejudicial actions of many village Directors, the existence of the General Directory of the Indians managed to maintain the tribal territory. It is possible that with its extinction during the advent of the Republic, in 1889, the villages were left on their own allowing the whites tu usurp indigenous lands without impunity. For example, in a communication by the Provincial President on 1 March 1861, the village of Rodelas is said to possess a territorial patrimony composed of 30 islands (Nasser, 1975). By the beginning of

the present century, however, the Tuxá had lost all 30 islands. Between 1934 and 1937 they succeeded in regaining one, namely Viuva Island. This single recovery was due to the efforts of one village chief (capitão) who personally sought out the governor of Pernambuco to request its return.

All the evidence suggests that the interim between 1889 and 1910 (the year in which the Indian Protection Service was founded) was the most critical period for the indigenous population of the São Francisco River Valley. With the disappearance of the protective organization, the power and avarice of the white landowners reached its zenith (Hohenthal, 1960a). Regarding this, it is said that after the Canudos War (1896-97), waged against the followers of the religious mystic Antonia Conselheiro in the backlands of Bahia, the Tuxá village was attacked by governmental force. The attack was due to an accusation made by local landlords that the Indians had fought for Conselheiro. Before the arrival of the troops they were warned and escaped from the raid by fleeing to the river islands. However, their houses were burned and most of their lands were seized by local landowners. It is said than an old Black who lived with the Indians and had not fled with them explained to the commander that the Tuxá had not fought in Canudos, but visited this town as pilgrims. It seems his story was believed, for weeks later the Indians returned to the village. In fact, nobody in the village knows precisely how long the Tuxá were gone. But, they are in agreement on the fact that the lands usurped were not returned to them. Also, I do not know the level of animosity between the Tuxá and Brazilians after this episode. What is true is that, even today, they do not like to tell this story fearing retaliation.

The Indian Post of Rodelas was not established until 1945. It was under the direction of the Fourth Regional Inspectorate of the Indian Protection Service, based in Recife, Pernambuco. From the onset the Post was located in the town of Rodelas, since the Indian village was (and is) an appendix of the town. Its installation was followed by pressures from the local white population as soon as the Post's presence began to effect their position of dominance over the Indians. The operations of the Indian Post were marked by difficulties inside and outside of the indigenous community, resulting in pressures against the Indians from the whites and at times from the very Indian officer of the Indian Service. The situation did not improve until 1963 when Rodelas became a municipality and local candidates of public office found they needed the political support of the indigenous community--as many of the latter had become voters. However, the salient fact remains that the fundamental source of conflict continues; that is, the perseverance of a non-Indian elite which dominates the local economy and politics and insists on upholding ethnically asymmetrical relations with the Indian.

Inter-ethnic relations in Rodelas are characterized by prejudicial and discriminatory behavior. The caboclo, as the Indian is designated by the non-Indian, constitutes a social and ethnic category which is inferior to the "civilized" or "white," as well as to the "moreno" (as the blacks are called by the Indians and whites). The spatial distribution of Indians, whites, and blacks in Rodelas indicates the existing ethnic and class barriers. The town is divided into three distinct sectors--the village, where the "caboclos" live; the periphery occupied by blacks and poor whites (the sector where the blacks are concentrated is called "blacks' or morenos' street"); and the central part (main

street), called "white's street," is occupied by the whites. In the past social and ethnic barriers were more pronounced and neither the Indians nor the "morenos" could live on "whites' street." Today this is somewhat modified. An Indian or "moreno" can live in this sector of the town, but it does not mean integration into local dominant society. Also, until 10 to 15 years ago Indians and "morenos" could not participate in the festivals promoted by the white society. Thus, the "morenos" had (and have) their own club house in which the Indians were welcomed. Today, because of certain facts to be discussed below, the barriers are less well-defined and only lengthy observation can reveal the realities of the situation. Nevertheless, although "morenos" and Indians have become more permissive in regard to joint participation with whites in certain social activities, some segregation still exists.

Four factors, among others, appear to have contributed to the gradual relaxing of relations between cabocolos, civilizados, and morenos. They have also led to greater self-esteem for the Tuxá. These factors are (a) more effective caboclo participation in the local political process, (b) the attendance of school by young persons from the village, (c) inter-ethnic marital unions, and (d) the presence of the Indian Post.

Indian participation in politics began in 1963 when Rodelas became a municipality. Although it was a white man who took the initiative to attract the Indians into electoral participation, this led to positive results since, as it seems, it led the Indians to utilize the vote as a means of bargaining for their own self-worth. Equally, it appears to have alerted them to the advantages of joint action. With only rare exceptions the village vote is unified and they always elect a caboclo

representative to the municipal council (camara municipal). The vote has also been used as a means of undoing old oppressors. Since the political struggle is between two non-Indian families, the preference of the caboclos is always inclined toward that family which in the past showed the greatest understanding of indigenous problems.

It is also through politics that the Tuxá win small favors such as transportation for the sick, material help in times of need, or even general improvements for the village--as was the case when the prefecture constructed sidewalks and installed street lights. It is certain that the politicians used these small favors as a means of securing the Indian vote, but it is equally clear that a reciprocal relationship exists with the Indian reaping benefits which in the past would never have been gained. The most important result of these changes has been the breaking down of certain barriers which had kept the Indian "in his place". Today it is almost impossible for a white to openly deny an Indian entrance to a party in the town club since this might mean the loss of precious votes at election time. However, the same end may be achieved simply by charging an entrance fee high enought to put it beyond the reach of the Indians or morenos, given the low buying power of both. Nevertheless, engaging in the political process has given them the perception that this is a way of reaching a symmetrical relationship (though artificial) with the representatives of the dominant society.

The frequenting of city schools may be perceived and analyzed from two interrelated aspects -- (a) the coexistence of youths from the village and the town, and (b) the expectations of benefits which formal education can bring to the Indians. The first brings together young men and women from the village, although discriminatory attitudes still

persist on the parts of some whites. Young Indians often referred to differential treatment received from classmates. Nevertheless, this does not invalidate the role of the school in bringing the two groups closer together. It has become commonplace to find caboclo students participating in festivities organized by the school as well as in other non-school related social events. Although there is a tendency for closer inter-ethnic relations between caboclos, morenos, and whites at all festivities, the most intimate relations appear to develop between those who study together. Daily co-existence, joint participation in games, the organization of festivities, etc., promotes, however unconsciously, closer relations among the younger generation.

Although the school system does not offer a curriculum specifically geared to the ethnic realities of the town, the school is still perceived by the Indian as a means of equipping them with the necessary skills to face the world of the white men. Formal education is considered to be prestigious and a way to achieve an improved standard of living. It is viewed as a means to a specific end--a better job. Of the six caboclos who by 1974 had finished secondary school, two were working in São Paulo, one was employed by FUNAI, another had a job with the Hydro-Electric Company of São Francisco, and the fifth was still seeking employment. The sixth was a young woman who, though married, continued her studies in the hope of becoming a primary school teacher. Formal education, though far from perfect, is creating the conditions through which the young Tuxá can improve their sense of self-worth and become better equipped to engage in activities other than agriculture.

It should be noted, however, that participation in the student life of the town is fostering a disassociation of the younger generation from

indigenous tradition. It has been observed (Cabral Nasser, 1975) that many young Tuxá men and women will not dance in the toré for fear of teasing from their classmates. The depth and extent of this problem could not be evaluated by us. If, however, this process of alienation from indigenous life continues (from village traditions, etc.) due to continuous and intimate coexistence in the schools, then it is possible that there will be a progressive loss of Tuxá rituals, weakening the ties which link the younger generation to the religious ceremonies inherited from their predecessors. Nevertheless, it should be noted that many young Tuxá students still continue to dance the toré and participate in the particular.

The tendency of the indigenous population to marry outside the group has served to expand the kinship networks and to strengthen more intimate social ties beyond the village. These marriages are not, of course, with members of the local elite, but with individuals from the lower classes of Rodelas society. In any case, the network of non-Indian affines beyond the village represents psychological and even financial security. Whoever may have an affine in the town knows that they can be counted on it times of difficulty, be it for the loan of some object or money, or for assistance in mediating some problem with another white. In addition, the Indian no longer feels rejected for merely being an Indian once a son or daughter has been accepted by a non-Indian family. Even if the family does not possess great financial resources, it does not appear to matter--the important point is that they represent a new point of reference and support within the dominant ethnic group.

Economically, the Indian Post has not been of major importance to the indigenous population though it has offered limited services such as medical assistance, sporadic distribution of farming implements, and maintenance of the tribal territory. Its greatest role has been maintaining equilibrium in inter-ethnic relations. It is important to note that the Indian Post functions in a region of extreme poverty where a large proportion of the rural population is made up of landless individuals without any type of official assistance. This places the Indian in a unique position of privilege--they had land as well as assistance. Therefore, being an Indian takes on greater value. This has led to the large number of inther-ethnic marriages and the manipulation of false indigenous descent. By these two means outsiders can made use of what the Indian Post has to offer. Also, the Indians' status as "wards of the state" exempt from paying taxes leads to the situation where the non-Indians, taking advantage of their friendship with the Tuxá, joins their cargo of onions with an Indians and avoids paying taxes. This too has been a common occurrence. Hence, the situation of the Indian on the reserve not only leads to closer ties with outside groups, but also reinforces the Tuxá self-image vis-a-vis landless whites and morenos.

CHAPTER VII
ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding chapters, I have depicted briefly the ethnography and the ethno-history of the Tukuna, the Mundurucu, the Tenetahara, and the Tuxá tribes. From this description it should be perceived that the history of each tribe's contact with Brazilian society is not entirely distinct. Stripped of details, the sequence of events which occurred since the first contact with Eruopeans has been generally similar for all four groups. Their individual post-contact history are but instances in the more general process of the conquest of the vast backlands of Brazil. The aims and methods employed by the conquerors to subdue Brazilian tribes were very often similar from one epoch to another and from one region to another. Sometimes the aim was to exterminate the Indian by force. More usual, whole tribes were exterminated or drastically reduced in numbers by Old World diseases to which they had no immunity. Those that survived were concentrated in missions or on reservations, were enslaved by "just wars" or debt servitude, and subject to exploitation by Brazilians. In general, the Indians of Brazil have fared badly since the discovery of Brazil in 1500. And, their situation has little improved in the last years of the twentieth century. As stated earlier in this study, of over 2.4 million Indians in 1500, less than 220,000 remain today.

And yet, there are tribes such as the four studied in earlier chapters which have endured after literally centuries of contact with

Brazilian national society. Others, perhaps more numerous than those which have survived, have disappeared from the face of the earth. What are the conditions that have made it possible for some groups to survive as against those which have become extinct? To attempt to provide some answers to this question, or perhaps better stated, to attempt to offer some explanation as to why some groups have weathered the vicissitudes of epidemics, warfare, and exploitation while others have succumbed, we need to explore a series of factors. These factors include the aboriginal society and culture of the tribe in question, the nature of the contact with the larger society, and the adjustment of the group to its new condition as an ethnic group within the confines of a complex society.

Obviously important to survival are demographic factors. As Mercio Gomes writes in his study of the Tenetehara tribe, "only those groups that retain a minimal self-reproducing biological unity through the many periodic epidemic outbreaks can continue to be a separate ethnic unity" (Gomes, 1977:56); and he adds that "this is the most basic and minimal requirement that determines ethnic groups survival" (1977:56). In 1500, Brazilian tribes varied in total population size from small tribes such as the hunting and gathering Xeta and the Guaja numbering less than 2,000 people to the relatively numerous coastal Tupi speaking tribes with populations estimated as large as 25,000 to 35,000 people.[1] Three of the groups under consideration had relatively large populations

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[1]Population estimates are taken from John Hemmings's "The Population of Brazil in 1500" published as an appendix to his study of the Brazilian Indian in the colonial period (Hemming, 1978:487-501). Regarding his historical method of reconstructing population figures, Hemming has this to say: "My estimate is pure guesswork, done on the theory that the sum of dozens of educated guesses is better than one or two sweeping guesses" (Hemming, 1978:492).

in the period before contact with whites. The Mundurucu are estimated at 15,000 people; the Tenetehara at 12,000 people; and the Tukuna at 8,000. Of the four tribes, only the Tuxá seemed to have been relatively small (i.e., 2,000 people). But, it may be that Hemming has underestimated these aboriginal populations since not even Capuchin Martin de Nantes who reported on the Indians of the São Francisco River gives any indication of Indian population size. In any case, it seems clear that the Tenetehara, Mundurucu, and Tukuna tribes had total population resevoirs sufficiently large to withstand the impact of depopulation during the early years of contact. Furthermore, it would seem from contemporary population size that all four tribes have rebounded in population as they acquired over time some natural immunity to imported disease.

It is not only total aboriginal population size that has allowed these tribes to survive. A large population alone is not sufficient to insure survival, as witness the even more numerous coastal Tupi. Among some Brazilian Indian cultures there are rules of population control which can be highly destrictive when confronted with rapid depopulation. Such population "policies" among Brazilian Indian groups have been little sutdied, but two dramatic instances indicate their importance in adaptation after contact. The first is that of Kaingang of São Paulo state who entered into peaceful contact with Brazilians in 1914. In their native society the Kaingang had complex rules of mating. The tribe was divided into patrilinear exogamous moieties. These moieties were further divided into patriclans and a person of one moiety might only seek a spouse in certain clans of the other moiety. Other marriages, or even extramarital relations with one of the same moiety--

or with a member of the wrong clan in the opposite moiety--were considered incest. By 1916, the Kaingang were reduced to about 200 people. Some clans were extinct and some were represented by only a few individuals. Under these circumstances, people were unable to find spouses following the aboriginal rules. The first couples to break the rules were killed and others resorted to furtive sexual relations. An Indian officer seems to have persuaded them after several years to overlook these rules of marriage by introducing his new bride as his father's brother's daughter and thus of his own moiety from the Kaingang point of view. He seems to think that the tribal elders finally decided that the marriage of the wrong "kin" was not incest. But, it was already too late for between 1912 and 1916 there were only three live births among the Kaingang and these three died in the first year. Along with imported disease, warfare with Brazilians, and loss of their territory, aboriginal rules of reproduction contributed to the extinction of the Kaingang tribe (cf. Wagley and Harris, 1964:42-44).

The other example of the influence of aboriginal custom in the form of population control is that of the Tapirapé Indians of northern Matto Grosso. According to Wagley, it was explicitly stated by the Tapirapé that no woman should be allowed to have more than three living children nor should more than two be of the same sex. Thus, only two males and one female or two females and one male were allowed. The fourth child or the third male or female were buried at birth (Wagley, 1974:134-135). Thus, under normal condition the birth rate was just enough to replace the population from one generation to the next. However, when foreign disease reached the Tapirapé, the delicate balance between the birth rate and the death rate was upset. The Tapirapé tribe which were

estimated at 1,000 to 1,500 people before 1900 were reduced to less than 100 by 1947 (Wagley 1951:98-99). The Tapirapé clung to their custom concerning population despite the obvious changed conditions following contact. They were saved from extinction by the efforts of missionaries, the Little Sisters of Jesus, who were able to persuade them in 1954 to abandon their family limitation rules (Wagley, 1951:98-99).

None of the four tribes studied in this dissertation had rigid rules that in any way governed population control. In fact, Wagley compares and contrasts the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in this regard. About the Tenetehara he writes, "in general, there is little planned effort among the Tenetehara to limit family size. Men seem proud of several children; women are eager to bear children and they will leave a husband whom they believe to be sterile (1951:99). "Infanticide," he wrote, "is indicated only in case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused abnormalities. Since there is a low incidence of twins and since known cases of 'abnormal' children have been allowed to live, infanticide has little or no effect upon Tenetehara population trends" (1951:99).

Furthermore, Tenetehara rules of descent and residence operate to maintain their ethnic continuity. The Tenetehara kinship system which fully functions today is bilateral recognizing a wide range of kin on both the maternal and paternal side. Thus, the children of mixed unions between Indians and non-Indians may be incorporated into an Indian extended family regardless of whether the father or the mother is Indian. In fact, most mixed unions are between non-Indian men and Indian women.

Unless the non-Indian father takes his wife to live outside the tribal group (which is rare), the children of such a union live with the mother's relatives since the preferred rule of residence after marriage among the Tenetehara is matrilocal. Thus, along with a strong sense of tribal endogamy, the Tenetehara rules of decent and residence have worked over a long period to maintain tribal population size.

Curt Nimuendaju and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira have little to say about abortion and infanticide among the Tukuna. Nimuendaju writes, "abortion and infanticide are practiced, especially if the father is a Neo-Brazilian [non-Indian], as the child would be disqualified for sib and moiety membership. Otherwise, it is believed that infanticide is a sin and that Tae [a supernatural] will punish the sole of the prepetrator after death" (Nimuendaju, 1948:717). The Tukuna do have exogamic moieties which are identified with the direction of east and west. These moieties are subdivided into patriclans: The eastern moiety has 15 patriclans with the names of trees while the western moiety has 21 clans carrying the names of birds. Marriage is generally sought among particlans in the oppostie moiety; but, with a large number of particlans in which males can be sought there seems to be no shortage of potential mates. Unlike the situation among the Kaingang, Tukuna moieties and patriclans have not stood as a barrier to marriage and reproduction. Instead, membership in a clan has reinforced tribal endogamy and ethnic membership and, thus, has kept the Tukuna society intact.

Again, the Mundurucu seems to be lacking aboriginal custom and ideology that reduced reproduction. Robert and Yolanda Murphy (1974) stated, "abortion along with occasional infanticide may account in part

for the fact that the [Mundurucu] population level is more or less stable" (1974:160). The Mundurucu, however, have patrilineal moieties indicated by the colors red and white which are, in turn, subdivided into a series of patriclans. Spouses must be sought in any patriclan of one's opposite moitey. Despite rapid population reduction throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Murphy's do not report any difficulties in obtaining a spouse from the proper moiety except for the presence of five unmarried women in a Savanna village (Murphy, 1978:117). The Mundurucu have a matrilocal rule of residence today; but, Murphy puts forth the hypothesis that they were patrilocal until about the mid-nineteenth century. The shift from patrilocality to matrilocality was brought about by the growing importance of females in producing manioc flour for trade with non-Indians and the need for female relatives to cooperate in the task. For Robert Murphy one of the important aspects of this internal adaptation is the response to population growth. Patrilocality is more amicable to a growing population allowing for the greater possibility of fusion or budding of the local group. "Patrilinear clans frequently segment under conditions of an expanding population, which causes lineages to break off and establish themselves in new territory in search of adequate resources. . . . Such budding process, however, is possible only if the patrilineal society is also patrilocal, because it assumes a localized group of related males who are subject to a common pressure to seek first sources of subsistence and who can move as a unit. Under a matrilocal resident rule, the budding of lineages from a parent clan is more difficult because the male members of a matrilineage who are after all the principal actors . . . have no residential locus" (Murphy, 1978:78-79). Thus, if we may accept

Murphy's theory of the relationship of the shift from patri to matrilocal residence to population growth, then the internal structure of the Mundurucu did influence the size of population. One cannot state that the shift from patri to matrilocal caused reduction of population but as the possibilities of budding to seek new lands became more difficult during the nineteenth century because of encroachment on non-Indians, this change reinforced population stability.

The social structure of the Mundurucu also works to maintain tribal identity. Each Mundurucu carries a name which "consists of his clan name with a given name suffixed" (Murphy, 1970:83). Thus, the possession of a clan name is a criterion of membership in Mundurucu society and the need for a child to have a clan name reinforces tribal endogamy, as does clan membership among the Tukuna. It should be noted, however, that clan names and clan membership among the Mandurucu would not be forthcoming for children of an Indian woman and a white man. An Indian male would theoretically transmit his clan name and membership. Yet, the mixed unions between Indians and whites generally involve a white male and an Indian female.

Since we know little or nothing about Tuxá aboriginal culture, the possibility of internal factors influencing population size cannot be considered. If factors such as abortion or infanticide did exist in Tuxá aboriginal, they would certanly have been combatted by missionaries in the early periods of contact. Today the Tuxá share the concepts of the surrounding rural Brazilian population concerning abortion and infanticide. Abortion is considered a sin which only now and again takes place. The idea of infanticide is repugnant and people deny that it even occurs. Unions between Tuxá and Brazilians are frequent; but,

since the rule of descent is bilateral, children of such unions are considered Tuxá which has the result of potentially enlarging tribal membership. Furthermore, non-Indian spouses of Tuxá are frequently incorporated into the tribe. Residence rules among the Tuxá are neolocal as among rural Brazilians.

Thus, it is possible to state that in none of our four enduring tribes did aboriginal custom or institutions contribute to depopulation under the new conditions of contact with Brazilian society. As far as we know, there were no rigid rules of family size or of limitations of the marriage such as those which were so crucial among the Tapirapé and the Kaingang of São Paulo. Yet, each of these tribes did have--or developed after contact--a rule of tribal endogamy and a rule of descent which granted membership in the tribal society of the offspring of unions with non-Indians. Both the Tenetehara and the Tuxá trace descent bilaterally, thus the child of any mixed union can claim tribal membership. Among the Tukuna and Mundurucu which have exogamous patrimoieties and patriclans, the rule of descent excludes children of white fathers and Indian mothers from tribal society (or at least allows them only a marginal status). Yet, mixed unions do not seem frequent among any of these tribal groups except the Tuxá. In fact, all four tribes seem to have adjusted well to the circumstances of permanent contact with Brazilian society. Their population is stable today (Tuxá and Mundurucu) or even increasing (Tukuna and Tenetehara).

Except for rather extreme cases such as those of the Kaingang of São Paulo and the Tapirapé, it seems dubious that we can discern any concrete unclear cultural barriers to survival. It is possible, as suggested by Herbert Baldus (1937) that Tupi speaking tribes seem to

acculturate (he uses the term "assimilate") more readily than do others because of cultural similarity with the rural cultures implanted throughout Brazil in the Colonial Period. Yet, the one tribal group among the four studied herein that has kept its tribal identity over the longest period of contact is the Tenetehara whose language (and related culture) is almost classical Tupi. One writer on Indian survival in Brazil has this to say about internal differences as factors determining adjustment to contact; thus, Dale W. Keitzman is able to write:

> Throughout this study we have avoided the possibility of relying on differences internal to Indian cultures in order to explain differential survival rates. Certainly such differences could account for different ways in which tribes respond to their initial contact with civilization. Also, the rather rapid population decline which has followed initial contact must represent a severe shock to the institutions of a society, being more damaging in some cultures than others. But, our knowledge of the factors involved have not been sufficient to make predictions of survival, or of the direction or amount of change that will result from contact. (Keitzman, 1972:290)

However, such internal factors must not be ignored in considering the results of contact. At least in our analysis of the four enduring tribes in this study no internal barriers to survival have been discovered.

If internal factors are not sufficient to explain survival, then we must turn to factors which are external to the tribe under consideration. By external factors we mean such conditions as the time and place of initial contact, the nature and the time span of the contact continuum, and changes over time in the contact situation. All four tribes studied had their initial contact with civilization in the Colonial Period--the Tenetehara by the middle of the nineteenth century, the Tuxá shortly before 1700, the Tukuna sometime between 1683 and 1772, and the Mundurucu about the early nineteenth century. And, in the early stages

of contact, the Tenetehara, the Tukuna, and the Tuxá were under the tutelage of missionaries belonging to the Jesuit, Capuchin, or Carmelite orders.[2] This was a time in Brazil when the non-Indian population was sparse and generally clung close to the coast. The missionaries, especially the Jesuits, aimed at protecting the Indian from exploitation by, and encroachment from, the colonist. Furthermore, at this time in Brazilian history transportation was poorly developed. Travel and expansion of the frontier was mainly along the mainstreams of the major rivers. Although without doubt, all four tribes suffered this initial shock of depopulation, the sporadic relations with the small numbers of non-Indians, the protection of the missions, and their isolation provided breathing space and time--a period to recuperate from the trauma of early contact. Thus, the conditions of the historic period were conducive to survival during the early stages of contact, especially as compared to the conditions of early contact which tribes are encountering in the twentieth century.

The contact continuum of all four of these enduring tribes has been relatively long and in the course of time the nature of the contact situation has changed as the Brazilian frontier has unrolled. The early mission stations were abandoned in the middle of the nineteenth century. The Tukuna who in the early period of contact were inter-riverine people moved to the mainstream of the Solimões River (the mainstream of the Amazon above Manaus) as their traditional enemies the numerous Omagua and Mayoruna were annihilated. The warlike Mundurucu once spread out over an immense region between the Tapajoz and Madeira Rivers were

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[2]The Mundurucu seem to have made their initial contact as mercenary warriors and in the early stages of contact seem not to have been missionized.

reduced to a more limited area on the Upper Tapajoz. As a result of their moves, both tribes came into closer and more frequent relationships with non-Indians. By the late nineteenth century both tribes were caught up in the collecting of wild rubber. As shown earlier, this extractive frontier determined their relationship to the outside world. Although both Darcy Ribeiro (1977) and Dale W. Deitzman (1972:82-83) point out the damaging effect of this type of frontier on Indian tribes, the rubber barons did not necessarily aim at the annihilation of the Indian. Even during the height of the rubber boom throughout the Amazon there was a shortage of labor--of men to collect the latex. The Indian was considered "lazy" as a worker but on the other hand he know the forest and how to identify the rubber trees. Rather than seeking to remove the Indian from the land, the rubber baron wanted and needed Indian labor. Thus, the Tukuna and the Mundurucu were allowed to survive but within a different system in which they were dependent upon a non-Indian patron and an outside market. With the collapse of the rubber boom, this sustem of debt peonage and of patron-client did not disappear. As we have shown in earlier chapter, it has continued to be strongly felt to the present in governing the relationship of the Tukuna and the Mundurucu with outsiders.

The contact continuum of the Tenetehara has been on the whole more favorable than that of the Tukuna and the Mundurucu. They seem to have remained in their general homeland since the sixteenth century. And, this region between the early colonization centers of Maranhão and Para has been curiously isolated. Unitl the late 1960's there were no motor roads within the area and the main rivers such as the Mearim, Grajau, Pindaré, and Turi-Assu were navigable only by canoes. The non-Indian

population of the area inhabited by the Tenetehara was sparce until recently. Moreover, the land was not considered suitable to plantation agriculture nor did the forests of the region contain rubber trees. The only extractive products of any value to be found in the area were babassu nuts and copaiba oil. The collection of those two products provided the Tenetehara with income from trade, but the Tenetehara were never engulfed by an extractive frontier as lucrative and intense as the rubber trade. Throughout almost 350 years of contact with the complex society of Brazil in various degrees of intensity, the Tenetehara retained essentially their basic methods of subsistence which has never been swamped by an economic frontier. Thus, neither their land, their labor (except as canoemen on the Grajau and Zutia Rivers), nor their lives were demanded by the dominant society.

The contact continuum of the Tuxá differs in many respects from that of the other three tribes. The Tuxá are not a tropical forest people; they have always lived in the arid northeastern sertão of Brazil. They seemed to have inhabited in aboriginal times several islands in the São Francisco River and today they have been limited to but one small island. The whole region of the sertão became a pastoral frontier in which the ranchers need little labor. To make room for cattle the ranchers wanted Indian lands and to achieve this aim they often made open war on the tribes. As Julio Cezar Melatti describes in his Indios e Criadores (1967) the pastoral frontier creates conditions for inter-ethnic conflict. Yet, the Tuxá and a series of other tribes such as the Kraho, the Canella, the Fulnio, and others survived. The Tuxá survived perhaps because of their distinctive island adjustment. Because of the annual flooding of the river and the deposited silt, agriculture was

particularly productive on the island--as it is today. Perhaps because they were more dependent upon their garden than on hunting than the tribes living in the sertao proper, the Tuxá had a survival advantage.

One cannot analyze the contact continuum of the four tribal groups presented in our case studies without discussing the functions of SPI/FUNAI, the agencies formally charged with Indian affairs in Brazil since 1910. Indian Posts have been present among all four tribal groups. SPI established itself among the Tenetehara as early as 1918, among the Mundurucu by 1947, among the Tukuna early in the 1940's, and among the Tuxá by 1945. In Chapter II, the history of those two agencies have been described. Suffice it to say here that despite the criticism aimed at SPI/FUNAI by anthropologists and others interested in the Indian cause in Brazil, it is hard to imagine the survival of any of these four Indian tribes over the last decades without these official agencies. As stated in Chapter II, in the last decade since World War II the movement of the Brazilian frontier has accelerated almost geometrically with the extension of airplane traffic, the building of highways, and the activities of governmental and large capitalistic enterprises. As never before the so-called empty lands of western Brazil and the Amazon have received hordes of Brazilians from the coast, from the extreme south, and from the northeast. Without the presence of the FUNAI, these Indian groups would have been, or soon would be, engulfed by pioneers or large agri-businesses. FUNAI has been slow in surveying and legalizing Indian reservations, but all four of the tribes studied here now have land held for them by the FUNAI as reservations. One of the main activities and problems of the Indian officers on these reservations is to prevent encroachment on Indian reservation land. The Indian Post also provides

some educational facilities, occasional medical or first aid attention, now and again, as in the case among the Mundurucu, prosecutes crimes (i.e., murder) against the Indians and often functions to control trade betweeen Indians and outsiders. But, the acquisition and preservation of Indian lands seems to be its most important long-term function. Not only does the reservation provide the basis for subsistence--and often also the basis for commercial production (e.g., collection of Brazil nuts or babassu palm nuts, and even cattle raising)--but it appears the Indian has an advantage over the poor rural Brazilian who is so often the squatter on the land of others, a sharecropper, or a poorly paid peon. Despite the low regard in which Indians are held and their poor economic situation, it is often better to be an Indian than a poor "civilizado." At least there is some land to cultivate and a government agency to appeal to in desperation. SPI/FUNAI, despite their shortcomings, must be credited as an important factor in the survival of many Indian tribes in Brazil.

By now it must be evident that the Brazilian tribes such as the four studied in this dissertation which have survived a long period of contact with the larger society have become ethnic groups. In fact, although insignificant in numbers in relation to the total population of Brazil, these groups conform closely to the definition of ethnic groups established by Wagley and Harris, by Fredrick Barth, and by Edward Spicer which were discussed in Chapter I. We have already discussed in this chapter how endogamy and a rule of descent among the four enduring tribes helped maintain their tribal populations just as they do among ethnic groups elsewhere. Wagley and Harris define ethnic groups as segments of a complex society (i.e., a state). Although originally

autochtonous and independent societies, they were engulfed by the Brazilian state in the form of a colony of Portugal and now as a Republic. With the presence of FUNAI and the advancing frontier bringing civil rule, there is now no doubt that all four tribes are part of a complex national state. Furthermore, there is no doubt that these Indian tribes like most ethnic and minority groups occupy a subordinate position to the superordinate or dominant group of the larger society (a criterion of ethnic-minority groups). Indians are known everywhere on the Brazilian frontier as "Bugres" (savages), or Caboclos--as lazy, stupid, and sometimes dangerous beings. They are considered unproductive impediments by large landowners. Even in high official circles of government they have been called "barriers to progress." If it were not for the extreme poverty of the rural classes of Brazil, one might be tempted to call the Indian the "Pariah" of Brazil.

It only remains to analyze the Indian tribes as "self-conscious" social units bound together by special traits which set them off from the dominant groups which are a criterion of ethnic minorities according to Wagley and Harris. It is these "special traits", following Barth and Spicer, which provide the boundaries between ethnic groups. There are no special physical traits which set off the Tukuna, the Mundurucu, the Tenetehara, or the Tuxá from the surrounding Brazilian people. The rural population is genetically mixed and is of Indian, African, and European descent. Because of miscengenation with rural Brazilians, there are "Indians" with phenotypical European or African appearance. Today members of all of these tribes dress like rural Brazilians and have given up all forms of body mutilation that might set them off as Indians. It is true that on festive and ceremonial occasions some of

them use red or urucu dye or black genipa dye to decorate their bodies, and certainly in the past they went nude or semi-nude, but today in physical appearance, a village of any of these Indians could be mistaken for a rural Brazilian village.

All four of our groups are certainly "self-conscious" units within Brazilian society. It must be stressed, however, that none of them were politically organized tribes in aboriginal times. Each village was politically independent of the others and there was no tribal organization nor leadership. The basis for "tribal unity" was a common language and a common body of cultural tradition. Inter-village relations dependen upon frequent inter-village marriages and the extension of kinship ties into villages other than one's own. In fact, today there is greater political unity than in the past. Both SPI and FUNAI have nominated and recognized certain prestigeful men as "Captains" (or Chiefs) because as Brazilians they have felt the need for figures of authority through whom they could control the groups.

Aboriginally all of these tribes were distinct social and cultural groups. They were set apart from neighboring tribes and from Brazilians by a myriad of distinctive cultural differences. Over centuries of contact acculturation has occured. In the process many aboriginal elements and institutions of all four tribes have beenabandoned and cultural elements of western origin have been adopted. Yet, sufficient cultural distinctiveness has been preserved among the Tukuna, the Mundurucu, and the Tenetehara to serve as "special traits" that set them off from their Brazilian neighbors. In all three tribes, the native language is still spoken and serves to set them off from Brazilians and other tribal people. In all three tribes, the aboriginal kinship system,

although perhaps somewhat modified, continues to function and is very different from that of Brazilians. One only has to remember the patri-moieties of the Tukuna and the Mundurucu, the initiation ceremony for girls among the Tukuna and the supernatural beliefs held by this same tribe; the ceremonies of Initiation of Youths and the Honey Feast of the Tenetehara; the persistence of a Men's house among the savannah Mundurucu and the distinctive religious concepts retained by the contemporary Mundurucu. All of these cultural elements act as special traits that set these poeple off as ethnic groups distinct from the dominant society.

The case of the Tuxá is perhaps the most interesting of all in this regard. Acculturation among the Tuxá is almost complete. Little or nothing at all of aboriginal culture can be discerned in the way of life of the modern Tuxá. Nothing of significance remains of aboriginal Tuxá social organization. The kinship system, the rules of marriage, norms regulating individual behavior and conduct, forms of dress, diet, sexual division of labor and work are all very similar, if not identical to those of the surrounding rural Brazilians. Not even a different language remains as a "special trait" for the Tuxá today speaks only Portuguese. Only by such minutae of culture such as distinct personal names can one distinguish a Tuxá Indian from a Brazilian (cf. Chapter VI). Even Tuxá religion led by its pajés (an Indian term) has seized upon Christian saints and supernaturals of African origin to set them off from the orthodox rural Brazilian catholics. Their religious festivals such as the toré and the particular, which is forbidden to non-Indians are highly syncretized and are composed mainly of European and African elements. Thus, lacking aboriginal culture elements to serve as

"special traits" to set them off as a distinctive group, the Tuxá have had "to invent," in a manner of spreking, new "special traits."

The Tuxá also illustrate another important point of the survival of ethnic groups. Intense or massive acculturation does not lead necessarily to assimilation nor need it reduce group cohesiveness of a minority group. Certainly a high degree of acculturation reduces "cultural distance" and probably reduces the "boundaries" about which both Barth and Spicer speak; but as long as some symbols can be preserved, as long as endogamy functions, as long as a rule of descent maintains group membership, ethnic groups will endure. Among the Tuxá membership in the group provides some access to reservation land as small as it is; and the Tuxá have the dubious protection of FUNAI. Group membership is maintained by endogamy and the bilateral rule of descent. A new religion acts as a set of symbols of ethnic distinctiveness. There are no indications at present that the Tuxá will become assimilated into Brazilian rural society at any time in the future.

This is even more true for the Tukuna, the Mundurucu, and the Tenetehara among whom symbols of maintenance deriving from their aboriginal past are more numerous. If fact, among the Tukuna and the Tenetehara nativistic movements have reinforced cultural distinctiveness and group unity. Curt Nimuendaju reports several nativistic movements during this century among the Tukuna. As stated earlier, these nativistic movements aimed at liberation of the Tukuna from the oppression of the whites and the survival as a people in peace and plenty (Chapter III). Unlike the so-called Movimento da Santa Cruz, which both Indians and whites joined, the millenarian outbreaks acted as symbol or "special

trait" to maintain the Tukuna as a group. The massacre of Alto Alegre in 1901 when the Tenetehara rose up against the whites (Chapter V) was a reaction aimed at maintaining their separatism. And, Mercio Gomes (1972) speaks of a revival of the Honey Feast in the 1960's as an effort to reestablish their ethnic identity. All indications point to the possibility that these enduring tribes will endure for a long time to come.

The story of the enduring tribes of Brazil may be stated as the evolution of autochthonous tribal societies to ethnic groups within the framework of a national state. They have evolved into hundreds of small ethnic groups as many as there are tribes that endure. There is the weak indications of a Pantribal movement stimulated mainly by Catholic missionaries and there is the non-Indian groups called Pro-Indio, but the only real power they can appeal to is the FUNAI. Each of those minute ethnic groups seeks to acquire, or maintain its hold on land. With a reservation they may perpetuate their society resisting assimilation. The Indian problem of Brazil will not be solved in this century.

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Nássaro Antonio de Souza Nasser was born in 1939 in Macaiba, Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil. The family subsequently moved to Natal, where he graduated from public high school in 1961. Mr. Nasser was awarded a Licenciatura in geography in 1968 by the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN), and in 1975 a master's degree in human sciences, with specialty in cultural anthropology, from the Federal University in Bahia. The author has held a variety of teaching and research positions in Brazil, including those of Coordinator of Research for UFRN and of Advisory to the Directorate of National Historical and Artisic Patrimony in archaeological matters. Mr. Nasser is currently Assistant Professor of Anthropology in the Department of Social Studies of UFRN, a position he has held since 1975. He is married to Elizabeth Mafra Cabral Nasser and they have two children, Miguel and Tariana.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Charles Wagley

Charles Wagley, Chairman
Graduate Research Professor of
Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Paul Magnarella
Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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